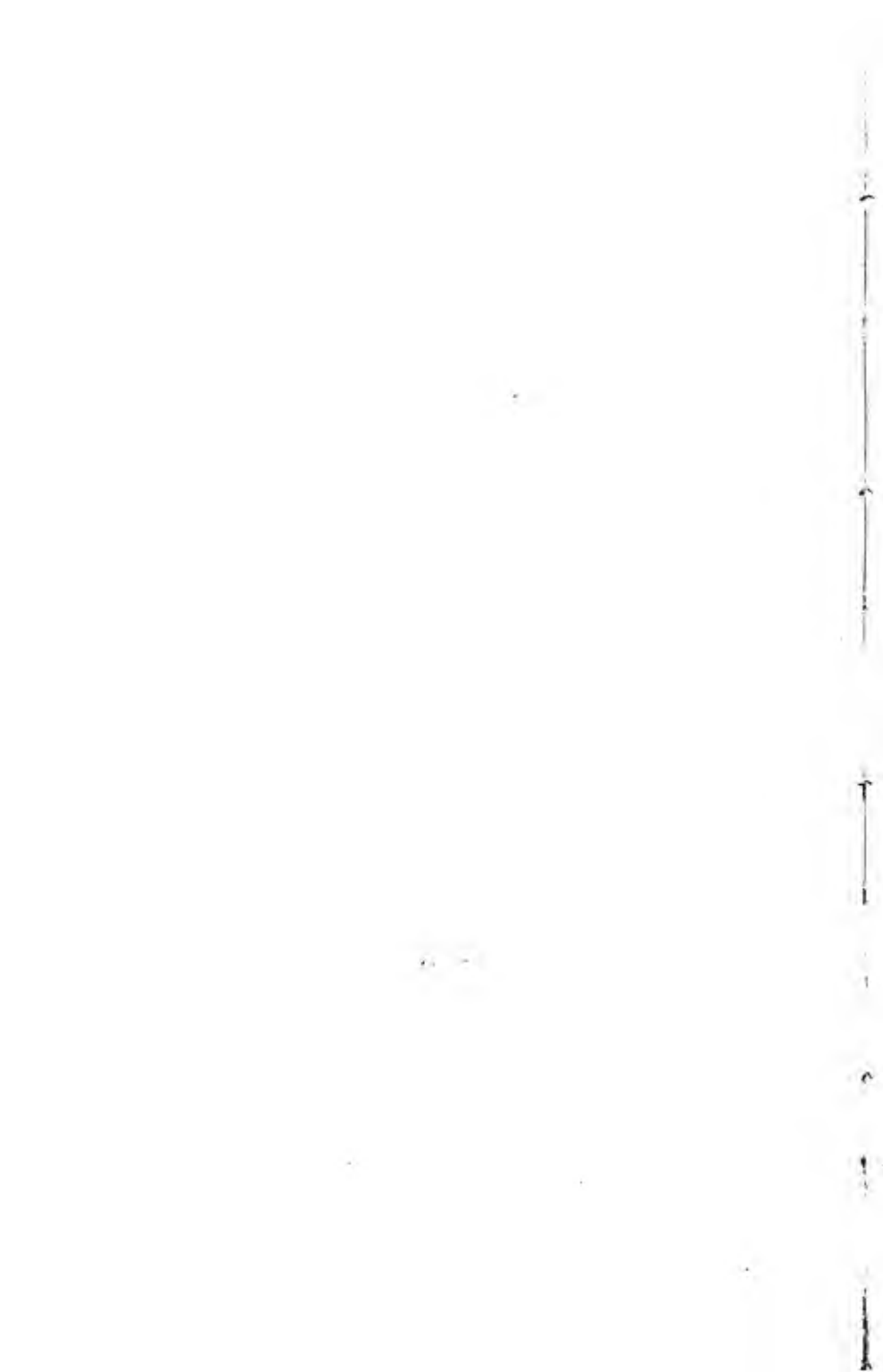


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ROMAN BRITAIN AND THE ROMAN ARMY:
COLLECTED PAPERS



ROMAN BRITAIN AND THE ROMAN ARMY

COLLECTED PAPERS

by

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MASTER OF HATFIELD COLLEGE AND READER IN ARCHAEOLOGY
AND ROMAN FRONTIER STUDIES IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM



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PREFACE

THE papers here collected into a single volume were written at various times in the past twenty years or so — some of them at the insistence of editors, others because I felt the need to get my ideas set forth in print in a form suitable to put before my pupils or other workers in the same field, the borderland of Roman history, archæology and, above all, prosopography, into which the combined influence of Michael Holroyd and R. G. Collingwood sent me from Oxford. Half of them are primarily concerned with the military history or the organisation of Roman Britain, half with the officers of the Roman army and their careers; in all, I think, my starting-point has been epigraphic or literary evidence (though not all readers may be prepared to accept the *Digest* as literature), and the archæological activities, especially on Hadrian's Wall, which have occupied much of my time — but for the war years — since 1929, are only reflected indirectly in the book: yet its ingredients could not have taken shape but for the practical work on the Wall into which I was directed by Collingwood. It would not have occurred to me to assemble them together for reproduction in book form, had it not been for the solicitations of several of my friends, and notably of Herbert Nesselhauf and H. G. Pflaum, who have pointed out that several of these papers are not easy to come by on the Continent or in the United States, and have been so kind as to urge me to take steps to remedy the deficiency.

The papers are reproduced substantially in their original form, except that I have endeavoured to impose uniformity in the citation of references, and have occasionally added foot-notes drawing attention to later work by other writers. Most of them were first written for publication in the journals of local archæological societies, whose readers could not all be expected to have specialist knowledge; that imposed on me the discipline of making what I had to say readable, and I hope that the present volume may appeal to a wider public than that which specialises in the study of Roman military history.

It has seemed best to arrange the sixteen papers mainly according to their subject-matter, rather than in the order of their writing; but in each case the date as well as the place of original publication is noted. For permission to reprint them I am indebted to the following: the Editor of the *Durham University Journal* for nos. 1-3, 5, 13 and 14; the Editor of *Archæologia Aeliana* and the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne for nos. 8, 12 and 15; the Council of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archæological Society for nos. 6, 11 and 16; the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for no. 9; the Editor and Council of the Dumfriesshire & Galloway Natural History & Antiquarian Society for no. 4; the Council of the Chester & North Wales Architectural, Archæological & Historic Society for no. 7; and my friend Professor Andreas Alföldi, who was so kind as to commission me to write it, for no. 10.

For assistance in reading the proofs I am indebted to A. R. Burn (who has also made useful suggestions for the compilation of the general index), H. G. Pflaum and Ronald Syme.

It seems appropriate that a book like this, devoted to the study of certain aspects of Roman military history and of the history of Britain under the Romans, should be dedicated to the Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, where he is now *ex officio* a Fellow of my old College, Brasenose. In this case, the dedication is not merely a tribute of respect to the senior Chair of its kind, but also a token of gratitude to a friend of more than twenty years' standing, from whom I am conscious of having received far greater stimulus and encouragement to productive work in my chosen field than I can hope to repay by the studies here re-submitted to him.

E.B.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(a) *Epigraphic publications.*

Volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* are referred to by their roman numbers, without the prefix CIL. For their geographical allocation, cf. p. 156, below.

AE (followed by the year of publication) = *l'Année Épigraphique*.

EE (followed by the roman number of the volume) = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*.

ILS = Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (often cited in preference to the basic publication in CIL).

(b) *Journals and works of reference.*

AA1-4 = *Archæologia Aeliana* (Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne), 1st-4th series.

CW1-2 = *Cumberland & Westmorland Transactions*, old and new series.

D.U.J. = *Durham University Journal*.

J.R.S. = *Journal of Roman Studies*.

LE = Wilhelm Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, 1904.

PIR, PIR² = *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 1st and 2nd editions.

Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. = *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.

RE = Pauly-Wissowa (-Kroll-Mittelhaus-Ziegler), *Realencyclopädie*.



BRITAIN UNDER NERO: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF Q. VERANIUS*

* *Durham University Journal*, June 1952, 88-92.

MR C. E. STEVENS has recently devoted a stimulating and ingenious paper to discussing a curious passage in Suetonius, according to which Nero at one time thought of abandoning Britain, but gave up the idea on considering that it would seem to involve a reflection on the policy of his adoptive father, Claudius.¹ He concludes that the occasion for Nero's original idea, and for his second thoughts, was not Boudicca's rising in A.D. 61 (to take the traditional date) — the year to which, for example, Professor Richmond has suggested that the episode might belong² — but some time in A.D. 58, and that the real reason for the emperor's change of mind was that he had read the will of Quintus Veranius, whose death is assignable to that year. Veranius, as Tacitus tells us,³ had died within a year of his appointment to Britain, and in his will had claimed (boastfully, as Tacitus thought) that he would have been able to conquer the province for Nero, if he had only had another two years to live. Nero, Mr Stevens continues, on reading the will quickly gave up all thoughts of evacuating Britain; instead, he looked round for a senator with previous experience of mountain warfare, and so appointed Suetonius Paulinus, whose rapid march across the Atlas nearly twenty years previously had brought him fame and the consulship. Paulinus attacked the stronghold of the Druids in Anglesea, the centre of resistance to Roman rule and the Roman way of life; meanwhile, Seneca (who had perhaps not appreciated the finality of Nero's decision to retain Britain after all) called in the loans which he had made to the British

¹ *Classical Review*, new series, I 4-7 (March 1951): "The will of Q. Veranius", citing Suetonius, *Nero* 18.

² *Archaeological Journal* CIII, 1947, 61.

³ *Annals* 14, 29.

chiefs, who had been finding that way of life a heavy financial burden. Boudicca's rising, which interrupted the new policy of further conquest, and led to the deaths of seventy thousand Romans or philo-Roman provincials, was the inevitable sequel — "because a foolish old man made a will, because a young man read it and changed his mind, and because a philosopher did not care." There are many more points of interest in Mr Stevens's paper, but the foregoing summary will be sufficient to show that the basis of his new interpretation of Nero's British policies is the Tacitean account of the governor Q. Veranius. It is to be regretted that he did not devote further consideration to the evidence for the latter's career and personality, for it might have led him to a very different view of the case.

It so happens that the career of Q. Veranius is better documented than that of any other pre-Hadrianic governor of Britain, apart from Agricola himself. The first stages of it are given by a Greek inscription from Cyana in Lycia (IGR III 703): *triumvir monetalis*, tribune of *leg. IIII Scythica* (at that period stationed in Moesia), quaestor of Tiberius and Gaius — that is to say, in A.D. 37 — tribune of the plebs (in A.D. 41, as we learn from a casual reference in Josephus, *Antiq.* 19, 3, 4). There the text breaks off, but it no doubt continued to the point of his governorship of Lycia and Pamphylia, which is attested by other inscriptions; the praetorship, in A.D. 42, and a legionary command (in view of the sequel, which shows that he was a man of military reputation) must have intervened, so that he cannot have been the first governor of that province, as is commonly assumed, for it is known from Dio to have been formed in A.D. 43: he is likelier to have gone there *circa* A.D. 46, as its second governor. In A.D. 49 he received the distinction of an ordinary consulship; there is no certain evidence for his career between that year and his appointment to Britain, but an intervening consular command seems called for, to justify his *magna severitatis fama* — and, as Professor Syme has pointed out to me, there is a fragmentary inscription from Bonn in Lower Germany, assignable to the period A.D. 52/54, which seems to mention a governor without *cognomen*, whose *nomen* ended in *-ius* (AE 1938 no. 75 = 27. *Bericht d. R.-G. Kommission*, 1938, 109, no. 213): there is a gap in the list of known governors of that province, into which it seems reasonable to suggest

inserting the name of Veranius, but he cannot have been promoted direct from Lower Germany to Britain (as was to be the case with several second-century governors), for Pompeius Paulinus had taken over the former province by A.D. 56 at latest, when Didius Gallus was undoubtedly still in Britain.⁴

It will be necessary first to draw attention to the rapidity of the advancement which Veranius obtained, and to the significance of several of the appointments which he held. The initial post in the vigintivirate, as *triumvir monetalis*, was most commonly reserved for patricians, who had no need and often no inclination to enter the emperor's service: they might be expected to have ample means, and there were sufficient religious and social duties to give them a full and rewarding life, without seeking a military career or committing themselves to becoming the salaried subordinates of the emperor. But when it was given to a plebeian, as in this case, it meant that the emperor proposed to back him at every stage of his subsequent career, and to employ him in responsible positions in his own service as soon as he should reach the requisite seniority as a senator.⁵ Such a man could normally count on serving as one of the emperor's quaestors — in effect, his parliamentary private secretaries — instead of having to draw lots for the position of assistant to one of the consuls or to a proconsul (as Agricola had to do); and the close personal relationship to the emperor would give him an excellent opportunity of showing his qualities and earning the continuation of the latter's support. He would obviously become quaestor at the earliest permissible age, in his twenty-fifth year, so that Veranius will have been born in A.D. 12, reaching the consulship at thirty-seven and being at most forty-six when he died. We must consider presently whether he can properly be dismissed as foolish; but at least he cannot have been an old man when he made his will.

After service as the emperor's quaestor, a plebeian invariably

⁴ Cf. Ritterling, *Fasti des röm. Deutschland*, 1932, 49; *Annals* 14, 29.

⁵ The point has never yet been made in detail, but I hope to elaborate it shortly in another place. My starting-point, in observing the importance of the earliest posts in senators' careers as a guide to their future prominence, has been a paper by Brassloff, "Die Grundsätze bei der Commendation der Plebejer", *Jahreshefte VIII*, 1905, 60-70, though he confined his attention to the emperors' *candidati* and did not note the full significance of the vigintivirate.

proceeded to the tribunate of the plebs,⁶ with the emperor's backing for his candidature, so that election followed as a matter of course; he could count on the same support for the praetorship, though a five-year interval separated that office from the quaestorship, unless he had qualified for an antedate of seniority, as Agricola was able to do, as father of a family. There was no necessity for the tribunate of the plebs to come at any fixed point in that interval, and as it was not strictly speaking a senatorial magistracy, it could be held immediately before the praetorship⁷; we may take it with confidence, therefore, that Veranius did become praetor in A.D. 42, five years after his quaestorship. In such cases, the praetorship was followed immediately by the command of a legion, and that by a senior praetorian appointment as governor of a province or as prefect of one of the treasuries in Rome, each post usually lasting some three years; then came the consulship, after which the emperor's planning came to fruition, and our senator was available, when still at the height of his powers, to serve as consular governor of one or more provinces. Numerous examples of this type of career could be cited; it will be sufficient here to refer to the case of Cn. Julius Verus, who governed Lower Germany and Britain in succession in the closing years of Antoninus Pius, and was recalled from retirement, early in the following reign, to retrieve the situation in Syria after the disastrous defeat of its governor, Attidius Cornelianus.⁸ Such men, in fact, represent the cream of the entry into the emperor's senatorial service, and the study of their careers should suffice to show how misleading the textbooks are when they lump together all the posts in the vigintivirate as "minor magistracies", and imply that it was immaterial which of them a candidate for senatorial office might hold.⁹ It follows that Veranius had been selected by

⁶ Patricians were not eligible for that appointment, and were excused the necessity to hold the intermediate office of aedile; they are therefore easily recognisable, when their *cursus honorum* are recorded, since their senatorial advancement was from quaestorship to praetorship without intervening office.

⁷ It will be remembered that it was necessary for a year out of office to follow an annual magistracy.

⁸ Cf. ILS 8974 + 1057 = III 8714 + 2732; which gives his complete *cursus honorum*; his governorship of Britain is dated by EE IX 1230, from Birrens in Dumfriesshire, of A.D. 158.

⁹ Even Dessau took something like that view of the vigintivirate, though he recognised the social prominence of the *IIIviri monetales* (cf. J.R.S. III, 1913, p. 303 in particular).

Tiberius for responsible employment at the earliest possible stage, and that Claudius, at least, had accepted the high estimate of his abilities; we need hardly be surprised that Nero, in the early years of his reign (when Burrus as well as Seneca was still advising him), should have selected such a man for the governorship of Britain.

That selection, however, surely meant that the situation in Britain had been sized up, and a decision as to its future reached. Since the death of Ostorius Scapula in 51 or 52, full-scale operations in Britain had come to a close, and Didius Gallus had been content to maintain the status quo, leaving minor operations on the borders of the province to his legionary legates (*Annals* 12, 40); it may be supposed that Claudius had decided that it would not be worth the effort or expense to conquer the Silures or the Ordovices of Wales, and that it would be sufficient to establish an effective western frontier against them, with legionary fortresses at Gloucester and Wroxeter as its main bases. As for the northern frontier, the Brigantes were still a client kingdom — as a chance reference back in Tacitus¹⁰ enables us to infer that they had become while Aulus Plautius was still in Britain — and there was as yet no question of incorporating their territory within the area of direct administration.

If Nero, then, in A.D. 57 (which seems the likeliest year) decided to send a new governor of the calibre of Veranius to Britain, his mind must already have been made up. It was to be held, not evacuated; and not merely held, but brought more completely under Roman control; and the first step required was the elimination of the running sore on the western frontier. It should be a commonplace that the governors of imperial provinces received detailed instructions before taking up their posts, and were required to keep in constant touch with the emperor thereafter; if Veranius was campaigning against the Silures within a year of his appointment, we need not doubt that he was putting his instructions into effect. If that is so, it will be easier to explain the claim which he made in his will, when illness intervened to prevent him from fulfilling his mission. He had no doubt undertaken to complete it within the *triennium*, the standard term of a governor's appointment, and in his will he affirmed that it could have been done. But what precisely was that mission?

¹⁰ *Annals* 12, 40: *ut supra memoravi*. [Cf. also p. 39 f., below.]

To judge by the words of Tacitus — *subiecturum ei provinciam fuisse* — it might have been almost anything. If we had not had that writer's previous account to refer to (*Annals* 12, 38 f. and 14, 29), the phrase might even have been taken to imply that the existing province was in revolt and that Veranius had been given the task of restoring it to its allegiance; or, if we accepted Tacitus's basic outlook in the *Agricola*, some readers might think that Veranius was claiming that he could have conquered the whole island — so that a young man then studying philosophy at Massilia would have no opportunity of winning laurels in Britain a quarter of a century later. But the sequel enables us to read the situation with greater precision. Veranius himself had been operating against the Silures of South Wales; his successor, Suetonius Paulinus, is presently found campaigning in the heart of Ordovician territory, in Anglesea: both governors were surely putting the same basic policy into effect, aiming at the complete elimination of the western frontier, by conquering and occupying the whole of Wales.

The rising of Boudicca, and the need for restoring the political and economic life of the Claudian province, compelled the suspension of the new forward policy in the 'west, but not its abandonment. Under Vespasian, indeed, the first advance was made in the north, against the Brigantes, whose internal feuds and increasingly anti-Roman sentiments and actions had made it necessary for them to be taught a lesson and to be subjected to direct control.¹¹ But Julius Frontinus, on his arrival in A.D. 74, at once proceeded to put the Neronian policy into effect. Tacitus, indeed, only refers specifically to operations by Frontinus against the Silures (*Agric.* 17), in whose territory archæology allows us to add that he established *leg. II Augusta* in a new fortress at Caerleon on Usk; but *Agricola*, almost as soon as he arrived in Britain as governor in A.D. 78, found it necessary to put down a rising of the Ordovices, and to re-occupy Anglesea — and it can hardly be supposed that in North Wales it had not been necessary for Frontinus to do again what Paulinus had left uncompleted. The earliest material from such sites as Caersws or Caerhun, in the territory of the Ordovices, so closely matches that from South Wales that there can be no question of their having been established before the governorship of Frontinus, and no need to credit

¹¹ Cf., in this connection, p. 12 f. below.

Agricola with their first occupation. The inference is clear: Frontinus had been able to complete the conquest of Wales within the four years of his governorship; was Veranius claiming that that was what he could have done, given three clear years?

In that case, it will perhaps be possible to arrive at a more reasonable interpretation of Nero's successive British policies. Claudius died late in A.D. 54, and for the first year or two of the new reign, no firm decision was reached about the future of Britain. There was no serious fighting in progress there, and the governor on the spot was old, it is true — *senectute gravis* — but at least he had a long and respectable record as a commander in the field and as an administrator; he could safely be left in Britain for the time being, until Nero could make up his mind what was to be done with it. The early hopes of great mineral wealth had been disappointed, indeed, and it had not yet been possible to reduce the garrison of the province appreciably, even though active campaigning was at an end. But some at least of the client states had made great strides in romanization, the old anti-Roman confederacy of the Catuvellauni and their supporters had been eliminated once and for all, and it might be that it would be possible to withdraw from Britain altogether, leaving it friendly and co-operative under the prudent overlordship of Cogidumnus. It was at this period in his reign, surely, that the question was seriously considered by Nero; and his decision to send Veranius to Britain, with instructions to revert to a forward policy, must mark a resolve to retain the new province and indeed to enlarge it. Suetonius Paulinus, a year later, was selected to continue a policy which had already been embarked upon, and not to initiate one which a young man's whim had adopted from the foolish last words of a dying man.

There is a wider question, however, which a reconsideration of the case of Q. Veranius may justify us in taking into account. Dio, in his account (60, 21, 5) of the visit which Claudius paid to Britain, records that the latter, before leaving the island, instructed Aulus Plautius to subdue "the rest"; and, as has been observed already, the impression which Tacitus seems to have had, and which he certainly gives in the *Agricola*, is that thereafter it was always Roman policy to conquer the whole island, the pace of advance and of conquest depending entirely on the initiative, energy and generalship of the

consulars to whom it fell to govern the province. Yet a dispassionate survey of the first thirty years after the Claudian invasion, taking into account the evidence of archæology as well as of Tacitus, and noting the special qualifications of successive governors of Britain, might produce a very different picture — of Claudius aiming merely at the control of what is now England, occupying directly those parts of it which could not be controlled indirectly through dependable client monarchs, and resisting all temptations to conquer the Welsh hill-tribes, however much trouble they might occasion when stirred into active opposition by a Caratacus, or by spasmodic pin-pricks against the Roman garrisons which hemmed them into their native hills; of Nero deciding that it would be cheaper in the long run to occupy Wales (even if its mineral resources were not thought worth weighing in the scale, at least Wales conquered would surely not require so large a garrison as had been massed along its border); of a northward advance long deferred, in spite of constant provocation from Venutius and his supporters, until a new dynasty was on the throne, and a new conception of frontier policy in the ascendant. The story, in fact, was far more complicated than the Tacitean account might lead us to suppose; and even in the time of Nero the emperor could keep provincial governors to their tasks, initiating a forward policy when he chose and, if it seemed preferable, abandoning that policy and imposing one of consolidation, such as that which Petronius Turpilianus and Trebellius Maximus were to put into effect.

The decade between the recall of Paulinus in A.D. 61 and the arrival of Vespasian's first governor of Britain, Petillius Cerialis, saw the fulfilment of the Claudian policy of a limited objective, from which Nero had departed when he selected Q. Veranius to succeed Didius Gallus in A.D. 57. Turpilianus only remained in Britain for a couple of years, and it was Trebellius Maximus, in the next six, who won the confidence of the provincials (if not of the army of Britain), and, to judge by a patronising sentence in the *Agricola*,¹² it was he, not Agricola, who really initiated an active programme of romanization in the province. If a forward policy had been required at that stage, Nero would certainly have replaced him by a younger man, and a better general — but the Fasti

¹² *Agric.* 16: *didicere iam barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus.*

of the province, if analysed with sufficient care, will in fact enable us to deduce imperial policy by noting the calibre and the particular qualifications of the senators selected to govern it.

It remains to add a brief note about the personality and connections of Veranius. He was the son of the Q. Veranius who accompanied Germanicus to the East, and in A.D. 18 organised the new province of Cappadocia¹³; the latter man, as far as is known, never rose to the consulship, so that it seems best to suppose that it was his son, our governor, to whom Onasander dedicated his tract on Generalship, clearly directed to a consular army-commander. Veranius was thus widely known as a student of the art of war, in addition to whatever practice he may have had in the field before he came to Britain; on the record of his career, we need not be surprised to learn that he won a great reputation before his too early death. As far as is known, he left no male heir, and the direct line died out with him; but a daughter of his, Verania Gemina, survived — to marry L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus, Galba's unlucky choice as his successor (as is recorded by their tombstone from Rome, VI 31723 = ILS 240, which adds that Veranius himself had held the distinction of the augurship), and in the course of a long widowhood to attract the cupidity of that inveterate legacy-hunter, Aquilius Regulus.¹⁴

Postscript. Just after the publication of the foregoing paper, valuable fresh light was shed on the career of Veranius by Arthur E. Gordon's publication of a fragmentary sepulchral inscription assignable without question to him: *Quintus Veranius, consul* A.D. 49 (= *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology* II, no. 5, pp. viii + 231-352 and plates 7-13, 1952). I hope to have an opportunity of taking Professor Gordon's elaborate and valuable discussion into account before long, in the book on the *Fasti of Roman Britain* upon which I am at present engaged; meanwhile it must suffice to direct the reader's attention to the fresh evidence. The main points to be noted, at this stage, are that the consular governorship of Lower Germany must be eliminated, and that the governorship of Lycia and Pamphylia lasted for a *quinquennium*, involving active military operations against its native hill-folk and the storming of their forts — an excellent prelude to the mission which Nero was to give him in Wales.

¹³ *Annals* 3, 10 and 2, 56.

¹⁴ Pliny, *Ep.* 2, 20, 1.

II

BRITAIN UNDER THE FLAVIANS: AGRICOLA
AND HIS PREDECESSORS*

* *Durham University Journal*, June 1946, 79-84.

FORTUNE has been doubly kind to Julius Agricola. The wise choice of a son-in-law ensured the provision, in due course, of a brilliant and convincing biography; and that biography survived the dark ages, during which most of the later historical writings of Tacitus were lost. As a result, the *Agricola*, professedly the *ex parte* tribute of a kinsman and a political colleague, has come to take its place alongside the surviving portions of the more objective *Histories* and *Annals*, and to acquire something of the same reputation for credibility as a source for Roman history in general and the early history of Britain in particular; and Agricola himself seems to tower above all former governors of the province, however great their reputation even in the pages of Tacitus. My purpose in the present brief study is to examine the basis for Agricola's reputation, and to assess the real place of his governorship in the development of Flavian frontier policy in Britain: in an age which has learnt that the spade is mightier than the pen, some apology may seem necessary for turning from archaeology to ancient literature in an attempt to reconstruct the history of Roman Britain in the Flavian period; but the sequel, I hope, will justify the attempt, and when the time for further digging arrives it will not be made more difficult or less necessary by a fuller comprehension of the literary sources.

In the nature of things, the main literary evidence is to be found in the pages of Tacitus. It is a commonplace that the *Agricola* was the first of his writings to deal with Britain; it was followed by the *Histories* (surveying the period A.D. 69-96), and then by the *Annals* (A.D. 14-68). In all, some twenty years' literary activity must have been devoted to these works; it is therefore wrong in method to take the passages in the *Histories* and *Annals* which refer to Britain and to build them

into a patchwork edifice with the *Agricola*, so as to produce a single "Tacitean" account. Where there is an apparent conflict of evidence, the later writings must be taken to give his considered judgment, superseding his earlier account; and we shall see that some of the forthright statements in the *Agricola* are substantially modified in the *Histories* or *Annals*. In examining the credibility of the *Agricola* as a source for the history of Roman Britain, therefore, we must bear in mind that Tacitus himself, when he came to write dispassionately — *sine ira et studio* — drew a rather different picture (in the surviving portions of his historical studies, at least); and even though his historical account of the Flavian period in Britain is almost completely lost, a comparison of his surviving writings with the *Agricola* emphasises the distortion of facts which was permissible to the writer of a personal tribute. This consideration, in turn, will prepare us to find that the picture drawn in the *Agricola* is not entirely supported by some contemporary writers, whose evidence has not hitherto been taken fully into account in assessing the history of the period.

It will be convenient at this stage to interpose a brief summary of the achievements and capabilities of the four governors concerned, as set forth in the *Agricola*; thereafter we will turn to the other literary evidence, noting in what particulars it modifies the picture initially created:—

(a) VETTIVS BOLANVS: *placidius quam feroci provincia dignum est* is the first brief judgment on his governorship, during which Agricola, newly appointed commander of the twentieth legion, had to restrain his military ambition; as long as the civil wars continued, Bolanus showed no energy in dealing with the enemy, or with his own undisciplined troops.

(b) PETILLIVS CERIALIS: appointed by Vespasian on his accession to power, he immediately attacked the Brigantes, the largest state in the province, conquering or fighting in most of their territory; during these operations Agricola was given ample opportunity to show his mettle in subordinate command, with increasing responsibility as his capacity became more apparent.¹

¹ Vettius Bolanus had been given similar opportunities by Corbulo: Statius, *Silvae* 5, 2, 34 f.

(c) JVLIVS FRONTINVS: great as were the achievements and glory of Cerialis, Frontinus matched them by subduing the hard-fighting Silures.

(d) JVLIVS AGRICOLA: it was Agricola, however, who was really responsible for completing the conquest of Britain, surpassing the achievements of all his predecessors, and incidentally providing the first real victory of Domitian's disastrous principate. His achievements made him the natural choice (if Domitian had not been prejudiced against him) for high command in the following years of disaster on the Danube; but from his recall, itself due to the emperor's jealousy and fear of him, until his death he was given no further employment.

Such, in brief, is the picture which Tacitus has drawn; and the skill of his pen may best be judged by recalling how Agricola, on the basis of it, has long held the position of an English — and indeed, by a strange inversion of justice, of a Scottish — national hero; and there has been a tendency, even in academic circles, to regard the Tacitean version as received truth. Let us turn to consider whether the foregoing picture is consistent with the remaining literary evidence.

First of all, Tacitus himself may be quoted. Vettius Bolanus had been appointed to Britain by Vitellius early in A.D. 69, in succession to Trebellius Maximus; later in the year, when called on to send reinforcements to Vitellius against the rising tide of Vespasian's forces, Bolanus took little or no action — because Britain was never peaceful enough (by implication, for a further reduction of its garrison to be safe). A later passage, in which the governor's name is not mentioned, throws further light on the matter. Before the death of Vitellius, there was war in Britain; Venutius the Brigantian, with support from elsewhere and with the Brigantes themselves joining him, had taken up arms against Cartimandua and hence against the Romans, who backed her régime. A force of auxiliaries, infantry and cavalry, was sent to the queen's assistance, and after several battles succeeded in rescuing her, but Venutius was left in possession of her kingdom, and at war with the Romans. At first sight it might appear that these events all fell within the same year, A.D. 69; but reference to the *Annals* shows that the present passage summarises the events of many years, and that the support given to Cartimandua, and some at least of the battles, fell in the governor-

ship of Didius Gallus (A.D. 52-57); so that there is no clear evidence for active operations conducted by Bolanus. What is certain, however, is that there was a skilled and embittered king of the Brigantes waging war against the Romans, at a time when Roman prestige was everywhere at a low ebb, and the garrison of the province reduced by successive transfers of troops to the Continent. Bolanus might well need the calm temperament which is counted against him in the *Agricola*. But was the charge a just one?

There is one contemporary writer who paints a very different picture of Bolanus, namely the poet Statius. Writing during the lifetime of Domitian, when Bolanus himself was already dead, Statius addressed a friendly poem to the latter's son Vettius Crispinus, then setting out, at sixteen years of age, on the first stage leading to a senatorial career, as military tribune. The theme justified reference to the military achievements of his father, which he himself might hope to emulate: hence come references to the command of a legion under Corbulo, and to his governorship of Britain where, in contrast to the Tacitean picture of inactivity, the poet speaks of Caledonian fields, of forts established by Bolanus, and of the trophies which he dedicated in Britain, among them the breastplate which he took from a British king. The language is obviously poetical, as Professor J. G. C. Anderson has observed; but it would have been out of place if it bore no resemblance whatever to the facts. We have here, therefore, a clear indication of warfare in Britain under Bolanus, and of some credit earned by the governor for whose record the *Agricola* has little good to say. And there is another contemporary writer, whose evidence points in the same direction, though he does not mention Bolanus.

That is the elder Pliny, who lost his life in the eruption of Vesuvius, A.D. 79. His *Natural History* was published two years previously; it contains a reference, dateable on internal evidence to A.D. 72 at latest (the *terminus post quem* is A.D. 70), to "the Roman forces, in almost thirty years, having carried our knowledge of Britain no further than the neighbourhood of the Caledonian forest." The implication is that by the date of writing the neighbourhood of that forest had been reached; and though in later years the term came to be used so loosely that Florus, in the second century, could write of Julius Caesar pursuing the defeated Britons into it, at the time

of first contact precise definition of its whereabouts may be taken for granted. The *Agricola's* usage points clearly to Caledonia as being the territory north of the Forth-Clyde line; it is in the western part of that territory that Ptolemy places the Caledonian forest; and the natural inference is that by A.D. 72 at latest the Roman forces had penetrated within measurable distance at least of the Forth-Clyde line. In passing, since Venutius had called in support from outside the Brigantian state (and that can only have been from the tribes to the north of it, since all its southern borders were in Roman hands), there was every occasion for such penetration in the course of the operations against him, which were presumably finally completed by Cerialis; a lost passage of the *Histories* will have completed his story, which began in a lost passage of the *Annals*, and have described the operations against the Brigantes in which Agricola first showed his qualities of generalship.

It may be objected that the passing references of a Statius or a Pliny are too flimsy a foundation on which to build a rival structure to that given by Tacitus in the *Agricola*. But there is a further passage which, taken as a whole, seems to clinch the matter. Silius Italicus introduces into his epic on the Punic War a prophecy about the achievements of the Flavian dynasty; its subject matter shows that it was written in the second half of Domitian's principate, for it refers to his German and Danubian triumphs. The main achievements of each emperor are carefully distinguished, and the result is a very different state of things from that suggested by Tacitus:—

- (a) VESPASIAN: *Hinc pater ignotam donabit vincere Thulen,
Inque Caledonios primus trahet agmina lucos:
Compescet ripis Rhenum, reget impiger Afros,
Palmiferamque senex bello domitabit Idumen...*
- (b) TITVS: *Hic fera gentis
Bella Palaestinae primo delebit in aevo.*
- (c) DOMITIAN: *At tu transcendens, Germanice, facta tuorum...*

There follows a poetic survey of the main achievements of Domitian — with not a word about Britain! In other words, a senator, surveying in Domitian's lifetime the record of the Flavian dynasty, attributes to Vespasian the first penetration into the groves of Caledonia, and the discovery and conquest of Thule, and that in the early years of his principate; and gives Domitian himself no credit for the conquest which,

according to Tacitus, was really due to Domitian's general Agricola. This must surely have been the official view when Silius Italicus wrote the passage; and it makes it all the easier to understand the resentment felt by Agricola and the sharp reaction of Tacitus once the last of the Flavians had fallen, and the over-emphasis (as the foregoing passages entitle us to describe it) of his tribute to Agricola's own achievements. Let us turn once more to the text of the *Agricola* itself, and see exactly how much Tacitus was able to claim for him.

In the following paragraphs I confine my attention to the seven campaigning seasons, and to Agricola's record as commander-in-chief; the record of his activities as governor-general falls outside the scope of the present study.

(a) First season, A.D. 78: Suppression of a rising of the Ordovices, and re-occupation of Anglesea; Tacitus himself claims nothing more than *victos continuisse*, but the *Tendenz* of the whole chapter is clearly to portray Agricola as a governor of quite exceptional energy, who preferred immediate action to the round of ceremonies with which other governorships normally began. Agricola, however, had studied his history of Britain; in the *Annals* we find Tacitus attributing similar action, in similar circumstances, to Ostorius Scapula on his arrival in A.D. 47.

(b) Second season, A.D. 79: Constant marching and harrying of the enemy; many previously independent states submit to Agricola, giving hostages, and are surrounded by a system of forts; a new part of Britain is incorporated in the province. These states had had dealings with the Romans before (*ex aequo egerant*), but had not hitherto been subjected to direct control; now they were annexed, without resistance sufficient to produce a battle for Tacitus to record. A reference to Agricola's personal reconnaissance of estuaries and woods has seemed to some writers to locate this year's operations in the north-west of England, and that area seems archaeologically not unsuitable; but the terms are a commonplace — witness Agricola's speech before the battle of Mons Graupius in the seventh season, with mountains and rivers, woods and estuaries, figuring as obstacles safely overcome; we may likewise compare a passage in Statius, referring to the operations of Vettius Bolanus under Corbulo in the East: —

*Bolanus iter prae nosse timendum,
Bolanus tutis iuga quaerere commoda castris,
metiri Bolanus agros, aperire malignas
torrentum nemorumque moras . . .*

The vivid picture which the *Agricola* at first seems to conjure up — *loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetemptare* — resolves itself into the stock description of a good general.

(c) Third season, A.D. 80: Once more an advance, without a battle being fought, followed by the establishment of fresh forts. New tribes are involved but not (to judge by the contrast with *ignotas ad id tempus gentis* of the fifth season) tribes previously unknown to the Romans; and the furthest point reached is the estuary of the Tanaus — now widely accepted as a corruption of Taus — the Tay on which, at Inchtuthil, the legionary fortress which formed the hub of Agricola's military occupation has been identified. Two seasons, therefore, without a single battle, sufficed to bring Agricola up to the Tay; and his real contribution to the conquest of Britain, thus far, had been to extend the area directly controlled, by the northward extension of his chains of forts.

(d) Fourth season, A.D. 81: Consolidation of the territory already occupied; the only specific activity recorded is the establishment of forts on the Forth-Clyde line, thus forming a final frontier — "if the valour of the armies and the glory of the name of Rome allowed it." The phrase is an odd one; but Agricola would not have secured his long-sought victory in the seventh season if he had kept to this frontier. Domitian became emperor, in succession to Titus, on 14 September 81; was it he who ordered a further advance?

(e) Fifth season, A.D. 82: This brings into the picture tribes previously unknown; Agricola conquered them in a number of successful battles, none of them important enough to call for description by Tacitus. The text is corrupt, but the area in question was reached by sea; the sequel, with Agricola concentrating troops in that part of Britain which looks at Ireland, suggests Galloway, by-passed in his previous advance and shut off by mountains and swamps from convenient access by land either from the Solway or from the Clyde. In that case, the tribes which he discovered and conquered cannot have been very populous or the battles very severe, even if we do not follow J. B. Bury (J.R.S. XII 57 f.) in allowing Agricola only a shipload of troops to fight them with.

(f) Sixth season, A.D. 83: Renewal of campaigning beyond the Forth-Clyde line, occasioned by a rising of all the tribes in that territory, who attacked one of Agricola's advanced

forts before his own army had moved into the field. Agricola divided his force into three battle-groups; one of these, the ninth legion, was attacked by the whole mass of the enemy, and only rescued by Agricola's timely arrival with a mobile column of cavalry and light infantry. The enemy escaped into the swamps and forests; but for that, that day's victory might have ended the war. No further fighting is recorded; presumably the campaigning season was drawing to its close; and for all his marching and the activities of his fleet, Agricola had nothing to show for this season but a battle on ground chosen by the enemy, in which a substantial portion of his army narrowly escaped disaster.

(g) Seventh season, A.D. 84: Towards the end of the season, Agricola brought the enemy to bay at Mons Graupius — somewhere in the north-east of Scotland, and in sight of the sea, but otherwise unlocated; in a short engagement the enemy's force of more than thirty thousand men was decisively defeated.² The size of Agricola's own field-army is not certain; but excluding the legions it amounted to at least thirteen thousand (eleven thousand in his line of battle, and four cavalry regiments in reserve); even, therefore, if the "legions" were no more than vexillations of two thousand apiece detached from their parent formations, he disposed of more than twenty thousand trained men. Against such a force, it is hardly surprising that the Caledonians were decisively defeated, in the pitched battle for which it was fully trained and they were not. At last Agricola had won a famous victory; Domitian awarded him triumphal ornaments (the highest honour a general could win) — and appointed another man to succeed him as governor-general and commander-in-chief in Britain. The date of the final victory, and thus the whole time-table of Agricola's governorship, is fixed by the reference to Mons Graupius having come after Domitian's triumph over the Germans, itself dated late in A.D. 83.

To sum up: Agricola's campaigning resolves itself into minor actions in the first and fifth seasons, an indecisive battle in the sixth, and a resounding victory in the seventh and closing year. In the light of this result, it is difficult to justify the view which he himself held in later years, and Tacitus repeats,

² Agricola's disposition of his forces, with auxiliaries alone in the first line, was no innovation (J.R.S. XXXIV, 43); Cerialis had done the like in A.D. 70 (Tac., *Hist.* 5, 16).

that he should have been given high command on the Danube, if not appointed governor of Syria. For both appointments were of such importance that they called for men of wide military experience; and that was something which Agricola could not claim: for the whole of his military service had been spent in Britain — as military tribune under Suetonius Paulinus, as legionary commander under Bolanus and Cerialis, and finally as governor. The Flavian period, indeed, was one in which specialisation is often traceable; thus, Petillius Cerialis returned to govern Britain ten years after his command of the ninth legion in that province, and Tettius Julianus, who beat the Dacians decisively in A.D. 88 or 89, had commanded a legion in Moesia during the Year of the Four Emperors; but both these generals had had responsible military experience in other fields, Cerialis in suppressing the rising of Civilis in Lower Germany, Julianus in command of the troops in Numidia. In the second century, when the governorship of Syria so often crowned a general's career, it was awarded to several governors of Britain — but all of them had seen distinguished service in other frontier provinces as well. Agricola, then, was a British specialist, and had no qualifications for military service elsewhere, even if his military record in Britain had been more brilliant. But what was the real significance of that record?

At the outset of the Flavian period, in A.D. 69, the northern frontier of the province directly controlled by the Romans stood approximately on the line Humber-Mersey, and a western frontier shut off most of Wales, with legions stationed at Gloucester, Wroxeter and Lincoln. By A.D. 85, Wales was completely pacified, and the northern frontier stood at the gates of the Highlands, with legions at Caerleon, Chester, York and Inchtuthil, and the bulk of the auxiliary regiments quartered in the northern territories annexed during the preceding fifteen years. The process of expansion had fallen into two stages, the first of active campaigning begun by Vettius Bolanus (with some success, even if he did not give Agricola an opportunity to earn distinction), brilliantly continued by Petillius Cerialis (who had larger forces at his disposal), and rounded off by Julius Frontinus; the second stage was one of consolidation, devoted to imposing the structure of government — roads and forts — on the wide areas which had been won for inclusion in the province. It so happened that, in

the process, the second stage involved some fighting, including one famous victory in A.D. 84; but on a wide view, such as Domitian and his advisers must have taken, it was under Vespasian that the conquest, as opposed to the consolidation, of fresh territory had taken place; and in comparison with the bitter and costly wars against the Dacians and Marcomanni, Agricola's drubbing of Calgacus and his thirty thousand Caledonians must have seemed a relatively minor ray of sunshine. Hence the official picture which Silius Italicus sketches for us, hence too the growing resentment which Agricola nourished during his years of retirement.

It will be seen that my estimate of the governorship of Agricola tallies substantially with that arrived at by R. G. Collingwood, long the brilliant and dearly loved leader of Romano-British studies; but I would not have it thought that the foregoing study represents nothing more than the tribute of *pietas* to the memory of a writer whose estimate of Agricola as a governor has lately been impugned. The literary evidence here surveyed leaves no room for any other interpretation, as long as Roman Britain is studied in its true perspective, as one of many provinces in the Roman Empire, in a period when the *Schwerpunkt* of military activity lay on other frontiers, nearer to the heart of the empire.

Note. Professor A. Momigliano has recently made a case (J.R.S. XL, 1950, 41 f.) for supposing the passage from Silius Italicus, cited above, to refer to Vespasian's activities in Britain during the Claudian invasion, as they were later exaggerated by Flavian propagandists, rather than to the achievements of his governors a generation later. But it is not entirely out of the question that Vespasian was charged by Plautius with a mission of some kind to the North (cf. p. 46 f. below); and the poet's complete silence about Britain under Domitian still seems to me worth comment.

III

BRITAIN AFTER AGRICOLA, AND THE END
OF THE NINTH LEGION*

* *Durham University Journal*, June 1948, 78-83.

WITH the recall of Agricola in the winter 84/85 we lose the last thread of continuous narrative of Roman affairs in Britain, and for nearly forty years — until Hadrian's Wall and that emperor's own visit provide a group of texts, literary and epigraphic — the record is almost a complete blank. Juvenal has a couple of references, to a British king Arviragus whose death Domitian would have been glad to hear of, and to the storming of Brigantian forts as routine work for the centurion who aspired to rise to *primus pilus* by the age of sixty: both may well refer to the period of Agricola's governorship at latest, when it is not impossible that Juvenal himself may have seen service in Britain, as prefect of the first Dalmatian cohort. Suetonius records (*Domit.* 10) that Domitian put to death Sallustius Lucullus, governor of Britain, for permitting a new type of lance to be named Lucullean; comparison with a passage in the biography of Agricola (*Agric.* 45) might suggest that this episode should be dated after the latter's death in August 93 (and before Domitian's murder in September 96): the governor is otherwise unknown, nor can we judge if he had really been tampering with the loyalty of his troops, among whom both legionaries and auxiliaries were equipped with the *lancea*. And for the whole period of Trajan's reign (98-117), there is not a single mention of events in Britain. Archæology, it is true, has something to tell, but its evidence is still too incomplete to allow us to draw firm conclusions, and it must be confessed that we must await the discovery of fresh inscriptions, and put in a great deal of spade-work, before we can hope to obtain a balanced and convincing outline of the course of events. But it may be worth while to draw attention to a certain amount of evidence for changes in the Order of Battle of the Roman Army of Britain, which

must have had some bearing on its ability to deal with the military problems of the province in the period under review; and in some cases we may hope to gain, in addition, an indication if not a clear picture of what was happening there.

Within a year or so of Agricola's recall, the Roman arms sustained the first of a series of disasters on the Danube with the defeat and death of Oppius Sabinus, governor of Moesia; one consequence was the reduction of the legionary establishment of Britain from four to three, *II Adiutrix* being withdrawn. It is a commonplace that there was no fixed proportion of auxiliary units to legions, and it need not necessarily follow that a comparable force of auxiliaries would be withdrawn; but it may be noted that four Batavian cohorts took part in the battle of Mons Graupius in 84, and only one of them is attested in Britain in the second century; the others may well have gone to the Danube: a *coh. II Batavorum* was among the units whose dead were commemorated on the monument at Adamklissi, set up by Trajan after the Dacian wars were over (ILS 9107), and the unit in the previous column (its name is not preserved) included a *Brit(to)* and a *Bel(ga)*, the latter pretty certainly a representative of the British *civitas* whose capital, *Venta Belgarum*, underlies the modern Winchester; the two men may well have been enrolled in the cohort during its service in Britain — it will be recollected that Agricola's force at Mons Graupius included Britons of good fighting quality (*Agric.* 29), and Tacitus may mean no more than that such men had been recruited for service in the ranks of existing auxiliary units. But it is conceivable that he had in fact raised a number of *cohortes Brittonum*, and that possibility is strengthened by the evidence of some military diplomas relating to units of the Danube armies. *Coh. I Brittonum milliaria* first appears in a diploma dated 5 September 85, for units of the province of Pannonia (XVI 31); in 103 or a year or two later it was in Upper Moesia (XVI 54), and two diplomas recently published show that it was in the newly-formed province of Dacia from the outset, and distinguished itself in the Dacian campaign, earning the additional titles *Ulpia torquata pia fidelis* and the special grant of Roman citizenship for its men before the completion of their twenty-five years' engagement. The diploma of 106, which attests Trajan's grant to it (AE 1944 no. 57), was issued to one Novantico son of Adcobrovatus, who became M. Ulpus Novantico (taking

the emperor's *praenomen* and *nomen* on receipt of Roman citizenship); his domicile is given in the locative as *Rati(s)*, that is to say *Ratae Coritanorum*, the modern Leicester; and that of 110 (AE 1944 no. 58) was issued to M. Ulpius Longinus, son of Saccius, a Belga. The two British states thus attested both came under Roman control in the first phase of the invasion, and qualify without question for Tacitus's description of Agricola's recruits, drawn from Britons *longa pace exploratos* (*Agric.* 29); Longinus had completed at least twenty-five years' service in 110, and so had enlisted in 85 at latest: there is just time for the cohort to have taken part in the battle of Mons Graupius and for him to have joined it before its transfer to Pannonia. To judge by Tacitus, the unit cannot have been raised much earlier than 84, but it could have men ready for discharge in 85, since new cohorts were formed round a cadre of trained men, as is shown by the episode of the *cohors Usiporum* in 83 (*Agric.* 28).

It is not known how soon *II Adiutrix* left Britain; Ritterling (RE XII 1433) suggested the winter 85/86 or 86 as the likeliest time, but if *coh. I Brittonum* was in fact one of the auxiliary units which accompanied it, a slightly earlier date must be postulated, and the reduction in the garrison of Britain will have followed more closely after Agricola's decisive victory, which he himself clearly regarded as putting an end to active British resistance. But there is another unit which probably left Britain rather later, and on a very different occasion, namely the *pedites singulares Britannici*, first attested by the Upper Moesian diploma for 103 or a year or two later, and thereafter in Dacia. This is a unit first formed of men detached from various auxiliary cohorts for service as the guard-battalion of a provincial governor — as the title shows, in Britain; and it does not seem an unduly rash conjecture to suggest that its removal from Britain may have been connected with the fall of Sallustius Lucullus: perhaps that was the unit which he had equipped with the lances which were made the pretext for his execution. In that case, its transfer to the Danube will have occurred in 93-96, as an isolated incident unrelated to any major change in the distribution of troops.

The first move in the other direction, to reinforce the army of Britain, had taken place by 105. A diploma of that year (XVI 51) shows *coh. II Asturum* in Britain; that cohort was

in Lower Germany in 80, as is shown by a diploma recently discovered in Bulgaria,¹ and 89 (when it acquired the titles *pia fidelis Domitiana*, in common with other units of the Lower German command, for its loyalty in resisting the rising of Antonius Saturninus),² so that its transfer to Britain fell in the period 89-105. What the occasion for that transfer may have been, we cannot yet say; but there is evidence to show that the cohort soon had an opportunity to distinguish itself in action in Britain. There is an inscription from Cyrene, as yet unpublished, to which my attention was first drawn by Mr E. S. Applebaum, and for a careful transcription and photographs of which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr R. G. Goodchild; its text is as follows:—

- C. IVLIO C. F. VO[L.]
 KARO EX PROVINCIA NARBO
 NENSI TRIB. MIL. LEG. III CY[R.]
 PRAEF. COH. II ASTYRVN EQ.
 5. DONATO BELLO BRITTANICO C[OR.]
 MVRALI CORONA VALLARI COR.
 AVREA HASTA PVRA
 [C]ENTYRIONES ET
 MILITES LEG. III CYR. ET LEG.
 10. [X]XII MISSI IN PROVINCIAM
 [C]YRENENSEM DILECTVS CAVSSA

It is a tombstone (as its form and phrasing indicate), set up by centurions and other ranks of the two legions *III Cyrenaica* and *XXII Deiotariana* in memory of a tribune of the former, C. Julius Karus, whose tribe *Vol(tinia)* accords with his home in Gallia Narbonensis (the modern Provence): in passing, it is unusual to find the province and not one of its towns specified as the *origo* of a Roman citizen, such as Karus was. In his previous appointment, as prefect of the second cohort (part mounted) of Asturians, he had been decorated in a British war — we shall be coming back to his decorations presently — and though the inscription is undated, we are justified, in view of what has been said above, in placing the British war after 89, when the cohort was still in Lower Germany. The lower limit is provided by the detachment that put up the inscription: *III Cyrenaica* and *XXII Deiotariana* for generations formed the legionary garrison of Egypt, sharing a single

¹ *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique de Bulgarie* 15, 1946, p. 87 = AE 1948, no. 56.

² Cf. E. Stein, *Truppenkörper* (1932), p. 165.

fortress at Alexandria; they are still attested there as late as 119 (RE XII 1510), but by February 128 their place had been taken by *II Traiana*, *III Cyrenaica* next turning up as the one legion in Arabia and *XXII Deiotariana* disappearing from the Roman army-list. At the outside, therefore, the British war occurred in the period 89-128, but on balance a date between 100 and 120 may seem likelier. Within that period there is at present only one British war directly recorded, namely the one in progress on Hadrian's accession in August 117, and over (as the numismatic evidence shows) by 119; and we cannot exclude the possibility that it was Hadrian who awarded Karus his decorations. But Hadrian, at least in later years, was extremely sparing in the scale of decorations awarded to officers: thus, M. Statius Priscus, for his services as tribune of *III Gallica* in the Jewish war, merely received a *vexillum* (ILS 1092), and Q. Lollius Urbicus, serving in the same campaign as general officer on the emperor's personal staff, had to be content with *hasta pura* and *corona aurea*; yet Karus, serving in the junior equestrian post as prefect of a cohort, received two further crowns. There was normally a close relationship, in the Roman army as in many modern ones, between the rank of the recipient and the decorations conferred on him, and the austere standard adopted by Hadrian seems incompatible with the award made to Karus. Even under Trajan there is no parallel to such lavish decorations for so junior an officer, but at least Trajan was lavish in his bestowal of decorations, and it seems best to assume that the British war in question was one which took place in his reign. It may be noted that there is one further piece of evidence which proves that there was warfare in Britain under Trajan: *coh. I Cugernorum* appears in that form in the British diploma for 103 (XVI 48), but by 122 it has become *coh. I Ulpia Traiana Cugernorum civium Romanorum* (XVI 69), showing that between 103 and 117 it had won comparable distinction, for services in action, to that bestowed on *coh. I Brittonum* in Dacia.

In passing, it may be noted that the occasion for the presence of Karus and the detachment from the two Egyptian legions in Cyrenaica, to levy recruits for the army (*dilectus caussa*), would best fit the period before the great Jewish rising in the last years of Trajan's life; for it presupposes a recruitable surplus of population, such as Cyrenaica cannot have had for many years after that rising's suppression.

So far we have been dealing with the evidence relating to auxiliary units alone; there is little positive to add in the case of the remaining three legions of the army of Britain. *II Augusta*, now securely established at *Isca* (Caerleon), had already begun to rebuild its fortress in stone in 100, as an inscription tells us (J.R.S. XVIII, 211), and there and in several auxiliary forts in Wales archæology has revealed what looks like an unhurried and methodical programme of conversion, substituting stone ramparts and buildings for the turf and timber which had sufficed in the preceding period. *XX Valeria Victrix* at *Deva* (Chester) seems to have been similarly engaged, though the archæological evidence is still somewhat slight and lacks epigraphic confirmation; to recompense us for that, the site has at least produced an altar (VII 169) with the name of a commander of the legion, T. Pomponius Mamilianus Rufus Antistianus Funisulanus Vettonianus (the long string of names is characteristic of senators in this period), who was consul in 100 and must have commanded *XX V. V.* in the closing years of Domitian's reign. *IX Hispana* at *Eboracum* (York) was also busy building; that has been shown by Mr S. N. Miller's careful excavations, and is proved by an inscription (VII 241) of 108 (or, strictly speaking, 10 December 107 — 9 December 108); that inscription is the latest dated record of the legion, and it is widely believed that it came to a violent end a few years later, in the closing years of Trajan or the early years of Hadrian's reign. What may be termed the official view is that expressed by Haverfield (*The Roman Occupation of Britain*, 1924, p. 119): "The north rose and not in vain. The Ninth Legion, then stationed at York, was annihilated. The rising was, of course, crushed. Hadrian supplied another legion, the VI Victrix Pia Fidelis, and came over in person about A.D. 122"; Wilhelm Weber was even more confident (*Cambridge Ancient History* XI, 1936, p. 313): "next came the crushing of the rebellious Britons, who had destroyed the legion IX Hispana in the camp of Eburacum, and the *expeditio Britannica* which ended in 119 with the pacification of the country, and was followed, on his visit in 122, by the construction of Hadrian's Wall"; and it is not merely the general public, but also scholars of repute, who accept the disaster to *IX Hispana* at that juncture as a matter of common knowledge. It is salutary to recall that R. G. Collingwood was more cautious; "the only reason," he wrote

(*Oxford History of England* I², 1937, p. 128 f.), "for imagining a disaster of any magnitude is the unexplained disappearance of the Ninth legion", and "to my mind, its absence from the inscriptions of the Wall, plus the fact that Hadrian brought the Sixth to Britain (surely to replace it), makes that [sc. annihilation in a later revolt] impossible." Here Collingwood is referring to Ritterling's suggestion (RE XII 1668 f.) that *IX Hispana* was still in existence after 120; it will not be amiss if we look into the evidence now.

Ritterling's argument may be summed up as follows: soon after Trajan's Parthian war the legion must have been lost, and Fronto's words (*Hadriano imperium optinente quantum militum a Iudaeis, quantum a Britannis caesum*) have rightly been taken to apply, as regards Britain, to its destruction during Hadrian's reign; the prevailing view is that this happened in the dangerous rising of the Britons which must have been suppressed in 119/120, and that the immediate consequence of it was the bringing over of *VI Victrix* from Lower Germany, assignable on other grounds to 121/122. But there are one or two senatorial military tribunes who, to judge by the rest of their recorded careers, can hardly have served with it before 120: in particular, L. Aemilius Karus, praetorian governor of Arabia in 142/143 (AE 1909 no. 236), would have had a very slow advance if his tribunate in *IX Hispana* had been held before 120 (ILS 1077), and it is hardly conceivable that L. Novius Crispinus, praetorian commander of *III Augusta* in 147-149 and consul in 150 (ILS 1070), can have been tribune as much as thirty years previously. One must therefore reckon with the possibility that there was a second British rising, in the middle or second half of the 120s, and that that was when *IX Hispana* was destroyed.

There is a further inscription which Ritterling might well have taken into account. V 7159, found somewhere in Piedmont, is a memorial set up by his freedman to a certain M. Cocceius M. f. Pol. Severus, prefect of *X Gemina* and before that chief centurion of *IX Hispana* (details of his earlier posts are omitted, as in a majority of cases of men who rose to that seniority); now a Marcus Cocceius is likeliest on balance to owe those names to a grant of citizenship made to himself or to an ancestor by the emperor Nerva (96-98), and the tribe *Politia* is that in which men born out of wedlock *castris* — in the cantonments of a frontier garrison — were enrolled on their

acceptance for legionary service and the grant of Roman citizenship which such acceptance entailed; it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this is a man accepted for legionary service in 96-98, at the normal age of twenty or so, who in due course won a centurion's commission and ultimately rose to the chief centurionate and then to the prefecture of a legion. We have seen that Juvenal regarded sixty as a likely age for a centurion to become *primus pilus* (and Juvenal was thinking of a man who had received a direct commission as centurion, without previous service in the ranks), and there are abundant inscriptions to show that that was not an unusual age for the post; even granted that promotion is liable to be accelerated in time of war, and that there were plenty of opportunities for winning it under Trajan and Hadrian, it is hardly likely that a man who enlisted in the ranks in 96-98 would have risen to *primus pilus* as early as 120: indeed, a date nearer 140 might seem more reasonable. It must be emphasized, then, that the careers to which we have referred do not permit us to accept the traditional view of a disaster to *IX Hispana* in the early years of Hadrian: what interpretation of the evidence can be substituted?

In the first place, *IX Hispana* certainly disappeared from the Roman army-list during the second century, at the very latest during the early years of Marcus Aurelius (161-180), for it does not appear in the list of legions in geographical order, first set up in Rome in the middle years of that reign (ILS 2288); but it is quite uncertain whether it was destroyed in action or, as Horsley first suggested a couple of centuries ago (*Britannia Romana*, 1732, p. 77), "dwindled away entirely, or else the small remains of it were incorporated with" another legion. There are various possibilities, as follows:—

(a) It was transferred from Britain under Trajan, to take part in his Parthian war, and remained in the East at its conclusion. In support of this view, it might be relevant to note that Trajan reduced the legionary establishment of each of the two provinces of Germany from four at the outset to two at the close of his reign, and we cannot absolutely exclude the possibility that he reduced Britain to the same establishment; but on balance this seems the least likely explanation.

(b) *VI Victrix* was brought over in 122, not to replace *IX Hispana*, but to add to the available force of skilled legionary craftsmen, required to carry out the ambitious programme of

new building, Hadrian's Wall and all its attendant works, on which the emperor had decided; the scale of that programme was such that it is perhaps surprising that the suggestion of an increase in the number of legions in Britain has not been made before now. In this case, we must suppose either that *IX Hispana* was allotted the western end of the Wall to complete — where geological conditions imposed the use of turf and timber instead of stone: any inscriptions on wooden tablets which it set up to commemorate its work would have an infinitesimal chance of surviving (it may be worth noting that Carlisle has produced stamped tiles of *IX Hispana*, and a legion constructing that western sector would obviously have been based on Carlisle) — or that the other three legions were assigned to the building of the Wall, whilst *IX Hispana*, already most familiar with the military conditions in the north of Britain, was left guarding the outfield while the work on the Wall proceeded.

(c) In that case, the legion may still have been moved from Britain to an eastern province on the completion of the building programme, when it was no longer necessary to have four legions in the province; and a suitable occasion might be found in the transfer of Sextus Julius Severus from Britain to take command against the Jewish insurgents in or shortly after 132 — while some reduction in the garrison of the island at that stage might well have stimulated the Britons to the further hostilities which were soon to lead to the re-occupation of Scotland by Lollius Urbicus; or, alternatively, further trouble had already broken out, sufficient to justify the appointment of Severus, the ablest general of the day, to take command of Britain, and *IX Hispana's* end may have come in or about 130.

It will be seen that we have been unable to reach a firm conclusion as to the fate of the legion, and unless further evidence comes to hand it is unlikely that certainty will ever be attainable: the one thing that is reasonably clear is that the traditional view of the disaster to it in the year or two before 120 cannot be maintained. But there is considerable evidence to support Ritterling's hypothesis of two distinct periods of trouble in Britain under Hadrian, whether or no *IX Hispana* came to grief in the second one. Full discussion of the details must be reserved for another occasion, but it may be noted that there are strong chronological reasons for equating the

expeditio Britannica mentioned in the careers of two equestrian officers, M. Maenius Agrippa (ILS 2735) and T. Pontius Sabinus (ILS 2726), with one *circa* 130 rather than with that which reached its triumphant conclusion in 119; and the results of excavation on Hadrian's Wall have pointed more and more clearly in recent years to an increasing military investment in that frontier line, the original conception of which had been primarily administrative; that investment was piecemeal, and it was directed principally against trouble to the north — witness the cavalry forts, with their three double portals north of the Wall, to allow a rapid sortie in strength. A recent study by Mr C. E. Stevens, soon to be published in *Archæologia Aeliana*,³ has done much to disentangle the stages in the development of what was at first a simple and relatively inexpensive project, and it reveals, incidentally, what a remarkable series of improvisations had to be made as the work proceeded. When we bear in mind that the first act of Antoninus Pius, on his accession in 138, was to send Lollius Urbicus to Britain, and to adopt an entirely different solution of the frontier problem in the north of the province, it becomes easier to understand a passing reference in the Augustan Histories' biography of Hadrian (ch. 23, 4): in the latter part of his reign Hadrian developed an intense dislike for Platorius Nepos, who had previously been one of his greatest friends. Now Nepos had been the man brought over to Britain by Hadrian in 122 and entrusted with the construction of the new frontier works, which were to be one of the principal glories of his reign; it is impossible to say now whether it was Hadrian himself or Nepos who had conceived the project, but as the original simple scheme became more and more obscured by changes, each of which added to its capital cost and to the cost of its maintenance, we may well understand how the emperor should begin to feel a certain exasperation against the governor, and to suspect that he was unworthy of continued confidence.

I have purposely refrained, in the foregoing notes, from touching on what is perhaps the most important single problem of Britain after Agricola, namely, the question when the Roman frontier receded from the limits which he had fixed at the gates of the Scottish Highlands. That problem can only be solved by further excavation on many sites in Scotland itself and in

³ Cf. now AA4 XXVI, p. 1 f.: "The building of Hadrian's Wall" (also published separately, 1948).

the north of England; it will be sufficient here to note that Tacitus seems, in the introduction to his *Histories* (I, 1), to refer to some reversal of Roman fortunes in the island before the death of Domitian, and the departure of *II Adiutrix* and several auxiliary units might well have made some withdrawal necessary, once the northern tribes began to take fresh heart; but the extent and stages of the withdrawal, and the successive arrangements of the northern frontier up to 122, can only begin to be understood when a great deal more spadework has been done.

IV

THE BRIGANTIAN PROBLEM, AND THE FIRST
ROMAN CONTACT WITH SCOTLAND*

* *Dumfriesshire & Galloway Transactions*, 3rd ser., XXIX, 1952, 46-65.

My starting-point, in a somewhat complicated discussion, must be a passage in the Greek writer Pausanias, often quoted but not always in its correct context¹: Antoninus Pius "took away from the Brigantes in Britain the greater part of their territory, because they, too,² had made an armed attack on the Genunian district, whose inhabitants were Roman subjects." The following points must be noted: the Genunian district is not otherwise attested, and the extent of Brigantian territory, before or after the time of Pius, can only be deduced by a careful study of scanty and fragmentary evidence. But before we turn to such a study it will be necessary to consider the context of Pausanias's statement.

Pausanias wrote what may well be termed the prototype of Baedeker's guides, an account of Greece intended for travellers with an interest in the history, antiquities, and works of art of that country. It was issued in parts, over a period of several years, and chance references show that book V was written in A.D. 174 and book X three or four years later; the passage with which we are concerned may therefore be dated fairly closely to the last few years of Marcus Aurelius. Pausanias has reached Pallantium in Arcadia, and sets out to explain why Antoninus Pius had changed it in status from village to city, giving it self-government and immunity from taxation; and from that it is an easy transition to a brief summary of what Pausanias conceives to have been the main features of that emperor's reign (138-161). First of all, he never of his own volition went to war against anyone — but he did deal with the unprovoked aggression of the Moors and

¹ *Description of Greece* 8, 43.

² Like the Moors, of whose unprovoked attack on Mauretania Pausanias has just been writing.

the Brigantes. In this context it is impossible to avoid equating the episode of the Brigantian raid on the Genunian district, and the punitive action taken by Pius, with the campaign of Lollius Urbicus which led to the reoccupation of Scotland and the construction of the Antonine Wall: for that was the only war in the whole reign for which Pius accepted a salutation as *imperator* (in 142, as we learn from inscriptions and coins), itself the official claim of a major victory. For that reason alone it is impossible to accept the ingenious argument, first put forward almost 50 years ago by Haverfield,³ and generally accepted since his day, that Pausanias was referring to a later period, and specifically to the events of the governorship of Julius Verus.

Haverfield's argument may be summarised as follows. Julius Verus is attested as governor of Britain by inscriptions from Brough in Derbyshire, Newcastle upon Tyne, and Birrens in Dumfriesshire — each place in, or nearly in, the territory of the Brigantes; and the inscription from Birrens, assignable to A.D. 158, gives the period of his governorship, in the closing years of the reign. The work of Lollius Urbicus, Haverfield pointed out, was "as far as we know, confined to the region of" the Antonine Wall, "and lay wholly outside the territory of the Brigantes. A war against the Brigantes must have been something quite distinct." At first sight this is an impressive argument; and an attractive trimming was added by R. G. Collingwood, who suggested⁴ that it was under Julius Verus that the colony at York was established, its territory being found by the confiscation of the richest Brigantian lands, in the Vale of York. But it is impossible that Pausanias should have ignored the one real major victory of the reign, even if it were not reasonably clear that he regarded the Brigantes as external aggressors, not a subject people in revolt. We must suppose, therefore, that he was in fact referring to the campaign of Lollius Urbicus, and it remains to consider how that can have been connected with the Brigantes.

It might seem simplest, perhaps, to conclude that he used the name of the Brigantes loosely, because they were the best known and in the past the most troublesome of all the states of northern Britain: much as the Roman writers Seneca and

³ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* XXXVIII, 1904, 454-9.

⁴ *Oxford History of England* I², 1937, p. 171 (cf. also p. 149, where Haverfield's argument is accepted without question).

Juvenal had done or (to take an analogous case) in the way that *Rutupiae* (Richborough) was used by later writers as a synonym for Britain, because it was the main port of entry into the island. But the specific mention of the Genunian district shows that Pausanias was using a well-informed source, and we must accept it that his source did refer to the Brigantes themselves and not (for example) to the *Brittones* — the term commonly used for Britons generally, whatever the native states to which they belonged.

What, then, were the limits of Brigantian territory? Here we come at once to the problem of our sources. Briefly, there are three groups of evidence: Brigantian coins, Roman inscriptions to the goddess Brigantia, and the geographical writers. The evidence has been discussed in sufficient detail, a dozen years ago, by Dr Robert Pedley⁵ and by Miss Mary Kitson Clark (now Mrs Chitty)⁶; it will therefore be unnecessary for me to do more than summarise it. The pre-Roman coinage of the Brigantes has not been found outside the West Riding of Yorkshire, which may thus be regarded as the original nucleus of that state. But inscriptions to Brigantia have been found well to the north of that area, at South Shields in County Durham, at Corbridge in Northumberland, near Brampton in Cumberland, and at Birrens; and though none of the inscriptions is earlier than the time of Pius, and those from Birrens and from Cumberland belong, indeed, to the early years of the third century, they may be taken with some reason to show that the places at which they were set up were regarded as being in Brigantian territory, though we cannot be sure whether it was territory still subject to the authority of the Roman canton of the Brigantes. That canton had its capital at *Isurium Brigantum*, now Aldborough near Boroughbridge in the North Riding of Yorkshire, as is shown by the Antonine Itinerary: the cantonal name, in the genitive plural, provides the decisive evidence (as Haverfield pointed out) for the status of the place as the centre of Brigantian administration. When we look at the remaining geographical evidence, it consists (apart from the passing references by Tacitus, of which more presently) of the details which the geographer Ptolemy of Alexandria included in his monograph.

⁵ *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland* VIII, 1937, 27-42.

⁶ *Yorks. Arch. Journal* XXXIV, 1938, 80-87.

It is convenient to call Ptolemy a geographer, and his great work a Geography; but it will be as well for us to bear in mind that his real interest was in astronomy, and that the main purpose of his book was to demonstrate the value of astronomy as an aid to geographers; he showed them how to calculate the latitude and longitude of any given place, and how by accurate observations of the sun it was possible to obtain fixed points in the preparation of a map. It was obviously convenient to give a practical demonstration of the system, and that is why he proceeded to compile the material basis for a map of the known world. That basis consisted of long lists, province by province, of geographical data, fixed points such as towns or river-mouths, each provided with a note of its latitude and longitude; occasionally he reports that these details had been secured by direct observation of the sun at the place under reference, but in most cases it had no doubt been by calculation from one of the fixed points that they had been deduced. What is most important to note is that Ptolemy himself had not made any of the direct observations, nor had he been to any great trouble to obtain exhaustive or up-to-date geographical information; he had collected together such materials as came most readily to hand, using as his basis the Geography of a certain Marinus of Tyre, but demonstrably adding, here and there, information from other and more recent sources. Ptolemy himself was a contemporary of Pausanias; his home was at Alexandria in Egypt, where he can be shown to have been living and writing in the period *circa* 130-170. The precise date of his main source, Marinus of Tyre, is uncertain; some scholars have placed his *floruit* in the early years of the second century, but I am prepared to argue that the time of Nero is a more likely period: yet it is clear, in any case, that Marinus himself had not set out to provide an up-to-date and accurate reflection, in his book, of the geography of his own day — thus, it has been shown by Professor Ulrich Kahrstedt that the sections on Germany east of the Rhine, which Ptolemy has demonstrably taken straight from Marinus's work, represent the situation that held good up to about 25 B.C. but no later; and there are plenty of other cases where it is plain that the source-materials were of widely varying dates.

As far as Britain is concerned, the one item which can be shown to be reasonably up-to-date is at York, where Ptolemy notes that its garrison was the legion *VI Victrix*: for that

legion only came to Britain in A.D. 122, when it was transferred thither from Lower Germany. It is clear that Ptolemy went to a little trouble to include details of legionary stations in his work, but that the amount of trouble was not very great; the Austrian scholar Kubitschek pointed out, forty years ago,⁷ that his information in this respect must have been provided by a military man, who happened to know many but not all of them by name — thus, surprisingly enough, most of the eastern legions are not mentioned at all, and as far as the legions actually included are concerned, some surprising mistakes are made in their location: the clearest case is that of *II Augusta* in Britain, which Ptolemy places at *Isca Dumnoniorum* (Exeter) instead of at *Isca* in the territory of the *Silures* (Caerleon on Usk in Monmouthshire). Presumably his informant had mentioned that *II Augusta* was stationed at *Isca* in Britain, and the only *Isca* which Ptolemy's main source recorded was the cantonal capital of the *Dumnonii* (if his main source was Marinus, its disregard of Caerleon would not be surprising, for excavation has made it clear that that legionary fortress was founded by Frontinus in the period 74-78). The references to legions, then, are late insertions into the text, made by Ptolemy himself.

The main body of his British section, clearly taken over from the work of Marinus, falls into two distinct portions. The first is derived from a Handbook for Mariners, and gives a coastwise itinerary round the shores of Britain; here the mouths of rivers, an occasional port or roadstead and prominent headlands, are the items included. The second portion gives a list of the principal states of Britain,⁸ listing them from north to south and mentioning, under each state, such "towns" within its territory as had details of latitude and longitude recorded of them in Ptolemy's source. By "towns" it will be best to suppose that Ptolemy understood "places", without specifically considering what sort of place any given one might be; in some cases there is reason to suppose that a native hill-fort might be intended, in others a Roman fort. But what is more important to note is that Ptolemy was not claiming to include a complete list of the principal towns of

⁷ *Jahrbuch f. Altertumskunde* VI, 1913, 205 f.

⁸ I prefer the term "states" to "tribes", since the latter word might suggest savages, such as were not to be found in the greater part of Britain.

Britain, any more than of any other province; he was merely aiming at including enough places to provide a map-maker with a fairly adequate basic framework for a more detailed map of the Roman world as a whole or of a particular province.

As far as the Brigantes are concerned, the places which Ptolemy assigns to their territory reach as far north as Bingham in County Durham, but do not come as far north as South Shields, Corbridge, Brampton, and Birrens (the line inscriptions have given us); but it seems clear that the three states that bordered on the Brigantes to the north (Novantae, Selgovae, and Votadini) covered the Scottish Lowlands from Galloway to Berwickshire and north Northumberland, and there is nothing in Ptolemy to forbid the assumption that the northern limit of Brigantian territory came more or less on the line which Hadrian adopted in 122 for the construction of his Wall. Indeed, if we accept the inscription from Birrens as indicating that, in the west, Brigantian territory spilt over a little to the north of that line, it may well be that the establishment of outlying forts, as part of the Hadrianic scheme, represents the result of a compromise: we may suppose that the general intention was that the new frontier should shut off the Brigantes from their northern neighbours, but because the geography of the Tyne-Solway line was exceptionally suitable for the Wall, Hadrian decided to leave a small fraction of the Brigantes outside it — yet they would need to be controlled, if not protected, and so forts were established at Bewcastle, Netherby, and Birrens.

We have worked back from the time of Pius to that of Hadrian. One of the most striking results of recent study of Hadrian's Wall has been the emergence of evidence for a remarkable succession of changes in its structure and, by clear inference, in the methods of its control. The first simple scheme, which Hadrian or his new governor, Aulus Platorius Nepos, laid down in 122, was for a Wall manned solely by gendarmerie (as we may conveniently describe them) — the garrisons of the milecastles and turrets. But before long it was found necessary to build forts, for infantry battalions and cavalry regiments, on the line of the Wall itself; and the structural relationship of the cavalry forts to the Wall proves beyond doubt that their garrisons were intended to be used mainly against a northern enemy. The system was soon extended by a series of forts, connected by mile-fortlets and

watch-towers, along the Cumberland coast; on the Wall itself, additional forts were inserted, as if to close inconvenient gaps in the series of military key-points, from time to time up to the last year or two of Hadrian's reign. Here we have all the indications of a period of increasing military pressure on a frontier which, in its original form, had been devised to suit normally peaceful conditions; the simple passport and customs line had been converted into the base-line for an expeditionary force, if not a defensive barrier.

When we turn to the history of the period, scanty as it is, we have substantial supporting evidence. The coinage of Hadrian's reign⁹ includes two distinct series of issues in commemoration of warfare in Britain; the first can be assigned without question to the opening years of the reign, terminating well before the building of the Wall; but the second belongs to the last four or five years, being assigned on what seem adequate grounds to the period 134-138. That fact, taken in conjunction with the structural evidence that we have been considering, is strongly suggestive of a hitherto unsuspected second major war in Britain in Hadrian's reign; and there are other pointers still to be noted. First, two inscriptions¹⁰ record the careers of equestrian officers who took part in a British expedition in the time of Hadrian. In each case it has been customary to interpret the expedition as that which followed quickly after Hadrian's accession in August 117, when the Augustan History records that there was war in Britain; but in neither case can so early a dating stand: I hope to discuss the evidence in detail on another occasion, but at present it will be sufficient to note that both careers are best compatible with the expedition in question coming after rather than before 130. That will explain two further points. In 132 the last of the great Jewish risings made Hadrian concentrate the whole of his energies on Judaea; as Cassius Dio puts it,¹¹ he sent the ablest of his generals against the Jews, and the first of these generals was Julius Severus, then governor of Britain. What (we may ask) was the ablest of Hadrian's generals doing in Britain, if the military situation in that province was not a strained one? Then, the orator

⁹ Cf. now Gilbert Askew's posthumous work, *The Coinage of Roman Britain*, 1951, pp. 9-11.

¹⁰ ILS 2726, 2735.

¹¹ Dio, 69, 13.

Cornelius Fronto, writing shortly after 161, to console Lucius Verus on the reverses recently sustained in the Parthian war, and quoting former cases of Roman defeats in the early stages of a campaign, reminded Verus how, in Hadrian's day, great casualties had been suffered by the Romans in Judaea and in Britain.¹² On a perspective view of Hadrian's reign, the main occasion for Roman casualties in Judaea was in 132 and the next year or two; Fronto's order seems to indicate that the trouble in Britain came later — when, as we have seen, there is coin evidence for warfare in progress. We may therefore be justified in reconstructing the sequence of events in Britain, under Hadrian, somewhat as follows:—

(a) On his accession in 117 there was trouble in the island, but it had been dealt with well before 122, when Hadrian himself inaugurated a new frontier, the purpose of which was to separate the subject Brigantian state from the states further north, direct control of which Rome no longer chose to maintain.

(b) The new frontier, as originally planned, proved unsuccessful: the northern states reacted to it sharply, and increasing military action was required to maintain it; hence the series of new forts, the gradual concentration of the army of Britain on or close to the frontier, and the despatch to Britain of Julius Severus (which can be dated fairly closely to 130). As long as he remained on the spot, we may suppose, the situation was kept in hand; but once he left for Judaea, and a less able commander took his place, the trouble came to a head with active campaigning, serious casualties, and the need for substantial reinforcements such as those brought from Upper Germany by Pontius Sabinus, one of the two equestrian officers to whom reference has been made.

(c) Hadrian died in July 138. Within a year a new governor of Britain, Lollius Urbicus, was preparing for decisive action,¹³ and in 142 his victory over the northern states led to the acceptance by Pius of that salutation as *imperator*; the Antonine Wall was built, and Hadrian's frontier-system given up (once more, this is a contribution made by archæology in

¹² Fronto, II, p. 22 (ed. Haines): *avo vestro Hadriano imperium optinente quantum militum ab Iudaeis, quantum ab Britannis caesum.*

¹³ As an inscription found at Corbridge in Northumberland tells us, he was having building of some kind done there in 139: cf. AA4 XIII, 1936, 274 f. and *Germania* 20, 1936, 21 f.

recent years, still not as well known as it deserves to be). To judge by the coin evidence, there was a lull between the trouble which followed the departure of Julius Severus and the offensive conducted by Lollius Urbicus; and what brought that lull to an end must have been the Brigantian raid on the Genunian district, of which Pausanias has preserved the record.

That brings us back to Haverfield's problem. What connection can there have been between a campaign which carried the Romans back to the Forth-Clyde line (and beyond), and the Brigantian state, all but a fraction of which lay to the south of Hadrian's Wall? And how can the annexation of the territory between the two Walls be regarded as depriving the *Brigantes* of a great part of their territory? That is the riddle which we must set ourselves to answer if we can.

To answer it, we must move backward into the first century. Tacitus is our main authority for the relationship between Rome and the Brigantes from the Claudian conquest to the governorship of Petillius Cerialis (71-74). But his evidence, in its surviving form, is fragmentary, and needs to be pieced together with care. In the *Agricola*,¹⁴ he records how Cerialis attacked the Brigantian state, accounted the most populous one in all Britain; he fought many battles (in some of which Agricola himself, then commander of the twentieth legion, took a distinguished part), and succeeded in conquering or at least fighting over a great part of Brigantian territory. In the *Histories*,¹⁵ under the year 69, Tacitus tells how active warfare broke out again between the Romans and the Brigantes under the leadership of Venutius; and reference to the *Annals*¹⁶ shows that that was merely the recrudescence of trouble which had begun in the governorship of Didius Gallus, in 51 or 52. Both in the *Annals* and in the *Histories* Tacitus refers specifically to the domestic trouble between Cartimandua and Venutius (which was the prelude to Roman intervention) in such terms as to make it plain that Venutius was supported not only by an important fraction of the Brigantes themselves, but also by warriors from elsewhere: in the *Annals* he speaks of Venutius's picked force invading Cartimandua's kingdom, and in the *Histories* he puts it that Venutius summoned allies, and was joined by Brigantian rebels. Now as far as we can judge

¹⁴ *Agric.* 17 cf. also p. 10 f. above.

¹⁵ *Hist.* 3, 45.

¹⁶ *Ann.* 12, 40.

the southern frontier of the Brigantes, at that period, marched with the northern frontier of the Claudian province; the allies whom Venutius summoned to his support must surely have come from further north. That, in its turn, will presumably mean that when the time came, in the governorship of Cerialis, for closing the account with Venutius and his supporters, it would not be sufficient to confine operations to the territory of what we may call Brigantia proper: his northern allies would still have to be dealt with, even if he himself was not able to fall back upon them in face of the advancing Romans.

Nearly forty years ago Mr J. P. Bushe-Fox pointed out, in a stimulating paper,¹⁷ that the figured samian brought to light when foundations were being dug for the extension of Tullie House in Carlisle, included so high a proportion of early pieces as to suggest the possibility that the first Roman occupation of Carlisle should be assigned to Cerialis rather than Agricola. His view did not win universal acceptance; Haverfield, in particular, received it with scepticism. But the more one learns of the figured samian which the army of Britain was using under the intervening governor, Julius Frontinus (74-78) — as a long succession of excavations in Wales has in recent years enabled us to do — the earlier that Carlisle material looks; and I do not think that any serious question remains, that Mr Bushe-Fox was right in his inference. And when one bears in mind the position of Carlisle, almost at the limit of Brigantian territory proper, it is not perhaps an unduly rash inference that it was one of the most important of the military objectives of Cerialis to occupy it, to plant a strong garrison there, and thus to shut off those northern allies from further intervention in Brigantian affairs.

It would take too long to argue the point now, but it seems a reasonable inference that before Dere Street was built, to carry the main Roman trunk line from York into Scotland, the principal northward route followed by early man was over Stainmore, across the Cumberland plain and so into Dumfriesshire; and that is the line of the Roman road from York to Carlisle, Birrens and beyond. We may be justified, I suspect, in supposing that the Votadini of Northumberland and the eastern Lowlands were either pro-Roman or neutral, and that the main force of Venutius's supporters was found among the Selgovae and Novantae in the centre and the west; and it would

¹⁷ *Archæologia* LXIV, 1913, 295 f.

be logical, in that case, for Cerialis to aim first at securing Carlisle, and then perhaps to mop up all the centres of Venutian resistance to the south of it. But we can hardly exclude the possibility that his campaigns continued northwards into Scotland; for when we turn to examine what Tacitus has to say about the governorship of Agricola, it is most remarkable that, for all the superficial impression of active operations in his narrative, it is not until the fifth season of his governorship that Tacitus is able to credit Agricola with meeting tribes previously unknown, and his advance to the Tay was not accompanied by any fighting that Tacitus could record.¹⁸ That surely indicates that the back of resistance had been well and truly broken, far beyond the northern frontier of Brigantia proper; and we should not be surprised to find that it was Cerialis and not Agricola who was the first Roman governor to lead the army of Britain into Scotland. That need not mean that we must abandon the use of the term "Agricolan" for the Flavian forts which have been identified, and in many cases excavated, in Scotland. For it is clear that much of the time and the energies of Cerialis must have been devoted to active operations in the field, which do not provide many occasions for the construction of permanent forts; the forts and the roads belong to a later stage in the establishment of Roman control — and it is precisely such a stage that the governorship of Agricola, as recorded by Tacitus, must be read as describing. Agricola led his armies in person, but it was over territory that had already been explored; he selected the sites for forts — but that is enough to show that the period of active campaigning was over, and the time for planting the framework of permanent control had been reached. One day, perhaps, we shall find clear traces of Cerialis in Scotland; but it will not be in the forts that the evidence will come to light.¹⁹ Rather should we expect to find it in some of the temporary camps, such as those which Dr St. Joseph's recent air-photographs have revealed so fantastically clearly, that one could almost go straight to the rubbish-pits from which datable material may one day be dug up.

¹⁸ Cf. p. 15 f. above.

¹⁹ I except Annandale which, as I have indicated, seems assignable to the northernmost territory of the Brigantes; Mr John Clarke has already made out a strong case for assigning to Cerialis the earliest Roman fort at Milton (Tassiesholm), which might perhaps be regarded as an outpost of that governor's strong-point at Carlisle.

Before I try to carry Roman contact with Scotland any further back, it will be as well to attempt a further clarification of the situations with which Hadrian and Antoninus Pius had to deal, in the light of the picture of Venutius and his northern allies which has been emerging in the foregoing paragraphs. It is a commonplace that much of the territory which Agricola had planned to include in the province of Britain, and in which he had established forts and roads, had been given up long before Hadrian built his Wall. Fifteen years or so ago, Dr Davies Pryce and I argued that the withdrawal took effect before the close of the first century; Sir George Macdonald rejected our arguments, and urged that the credit (if that is the right word) should be given to Trajan rather than Domitian; but the point is happily immaterial in the present context.²⁰ What does seem fairly clear is that Hadrian's new linear frontier was intended to shut off the Brigantes from further contact with their northern allies — to allow the philo-Roman section of the state to establish its ascendancy (we may think), and to make sure that there was no recurrence of a situation such as that which had led to all the trouble in the days of Didius Gallus. But in the eyes of the army of Britain it might well seem that those northern allies were really part of the Brigantian problem — had they not provided Venutius with the hard core of his supporters? And the history of those structural changes on Hadrian's Wall, to which I have already referred more than once, seems to suggest that the problem became more and more aggravated as Hadrian's reign continued. It was not merely that the people to the north of the Wall needed more and more troops based on the Wall to keep them under control; the construction of the Vallum surely shows that there was trouble of some kind to the south of the Wall as well. Whatever its precise planned purpose, the Vallum (as we now know) was constructed after the first stage of building the Wall itself, and its effect was to protect the rear of the Wall at least from "broken men from tribes the Romans had defeated" (as R. S. Ferguson put it, more than sixty years ago). I suggest that one of its chief functions was to prevent anti-Roman Brigantians from crossing the frontier and joining their one-time allies to the north of the Wall.

²⁰ For the details of the argument cf. J.R.S. IX 111 f., XXV 59 f. and 187 f., XXVII 93 f., XXVIII 141 f. and XXIX 5 f.

But the sequel suggests that many of them must have succeeded, and it will help us to interpret the statement of Pausanias if we may go a little beyond our direct evidence, and suppose that there was gradually growing up, to the north of the Wall, what may reasonably to-day be described as a "Free Brigantian movement", beyond the reach of Roman authority. We do not in fact need to think only of modern times, and of the corresponding situations in many parts of the world during World War II. Something of the same kind had occurred in Gaul and Britain between Caesar's day and the Claudian invasion: discontent with Roman rule in Gaul led many Gallic notables and their supporters to cross the Channel, and as time went on, so anti-Roman feeling in Britain received more and more support, and the expedition which Claudius successfully mounted in A.D. 43 was the logical consequence of the whole series of events. It was not in fact described by contemporary writers as that emperor's conquest of *Gaul*; but by British archæologists, who have learnt to talk of *Belgic* Britain as one of their dearest commonplaces, the point will be well taken, I hope.

We may therefore, if I am right, interpret the passage in Pausanias, which has prompted this discussion, as referring to action by Pius, through his governor Lollius Urbicus — not against the Brigantian canton south of Hadrian's Wall, with its capital at Aldborough in safe proximity to the legionary fortress at York: its nobles were no doubt for the most part the sons or grandsons of the Cartimanduan faction, loyal subjects of the Empire, who had learnt the benefits of education and comfort, baths and all — but against the untamed people of Free Brigantia, whose hard core of northern tribesmen had now been reinforced by all the malcontents of the canton. The Genunian district still eludes our precise grasp; but on this view it will be somewhere close to the Wall, and beyond it rather than to the south — otherwise, the raid of which Pausanias wrote would have involved aggression against the Romans themselves; and if I am right about the philo-Roman sympathies of the Votadini, it was perhaps a portion of their territory against which the Free Brigantes vented their spleen.

At all events, there is no doubt at all as to the area in which Lollius Urbicus and his forces operated. From Hadrian's Wall he advanced on a broad front into Scotland, presently establishing a new frontier-line from Forth to Clyde, and

controlling the territory between there and the former frontier by a network of roads, with forts at key points such as that at Carzield, four miles north of Dumfries, excavated by this Society in 1939, and fortlets like those which Mr Clarke has examined at Durisdeer and Tassiesholm elsewhere in the Society's territory. And it was no doubt from the area which he thus restored to Roman control that Lollius Urbicus obtained the young men of military age whom he exported to Upper Germany, where they turn up in 145 and the following years, organised in *numeri Brittonum*, complete with officers drawn from the army of Britain (as Friedrich Drexel convincingly showed, by an analysis of the distinctive style of the inscriptions and sculptures which these units set up in their new province²¹).

In the course of his operations, before ever the time came for building the Antonine Wall or the network of roads and forts to the south of it, Urbicus had at least one major battle to fight: otherwise there would have been no occasion for the salutation of Pius as *imperator*, an honour reserved to commemorate an important victory. It seems possible that that battle took place not far from this district, in the heart of Selgovian territory.

Just under twenty years ago the late James Curle published his inventory of objects of Roman and provincial Roman origin found on sites in Scotland not definitely associated with Roman constructions.²² Perhaps the most remarkable object of all was the marble head, "dug up in the eighteenth century near the site of an old chapel near Hawkshaw, in the Peeblesshire parish of Tweedsmuir." Of its Roman origin there is no question; its dating is not so certain. Competent authorities have assigned it to the time of Trajan, though that cannot be regarded as more than a *terminus ante quem non*, to judge by the observations of I. A. Richmond and Raymond Lantier, which Dr Curle quoted; the closing years of Trajan seem to be the earliest date on stylistic grounds, and at that period it is difficult to suppose that the Romans still occupied territory so far north as Hawkshaw. It would seem, therefore, that its dating may have to be pushed on to the early years of Pius; and that brings me to an even more exciting point about the statue to which the head must originally have belonged. The point

²¹ *Germania* 6, 1922, 31-37; cf. also 20, 1936, 21 f.

²² *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* LXVI, 1932, 277-397.

is one which I owe to Professor Richmond, though I am not sure to what extent he would be prepared to follow me in my application of it. He suggests that the statue was set up, not in a Roman fort (Dr Curle tentatively suggested that it might have been brought from Lyne, the nearest known fort, but that is a long way for the marble head to be carried, and it was not the sort of booty that it would be profitable for a looter to carry off with him into the hills), but on some monumental structure, *ex hypothesi* set up not far from the find-spot of the head, which can hardly have been anything other than the memorial of a great victory. That is to say, we have in the Hawkshaw head at least the suggestion that the parish of Tweedsmuir was the scene of a major Roman victory, which it may seem easiest to connect with that won by Lollius Urbicus against the last of the Free Brigantes. Professor Lantier regarded the head as a portrait, but not one of Trajan or any other emperor; can it be that it is a portrait of Lollius Urbicus himself? That might perhaps explain the somewhat archaic style of the hair-dressing (as dating it to the time of Pius would apparently require us to describe it): for Lollius Urbicus was not by birth and upbringing a Roman of Italy — his home was in North Africa; and it is a commonplace that old styles and old fashions linger longest in distant colonies, when they are already outmoded in the metropolis.

There we must leave the Hawkshaw head, hoping perhaps that before long a happy chance (if not a methodical search) may bring to light the remains of the monument itself. But if it commemorates the victory won by Lollius Urbicus, there is a further piece of evidence for a Roman victory, in an earlier period, somewhere in the same part of Scotland. Just over a year ago Professor Richmond and Mr O. G. S. Crawford published their long-awaited study of the British section of the Ravenna Cosmography²³ — a seventh-century compilation, which derives its long lists of names of countries, towns and rivers from a road-map such as that which has survived, from the ancient world, as the so-called "Peutinger Table". Among a sequence of place-names which they show convincingly to have been in the south-west of Scotland, the place next before *Trimuntium* (Newstead) is called, apparently in the locative case, *Venutio*. It is difficult to avoid connecting it with the name of Venutius, once husband and later enemy

²³ *Archæologia* XCIII, 1949, 1-50.

of Cartimandua, and for twenty years the leading opponent of the Roman arms in Britain. We have seen that the allies, on whom he called to support him against his former wife, came from the Lowlands; does this place-name preserve the memory of the unrecorded battle in which he made his last stand?

But it will be well to recall that we do not know when that last battle was fought. Venutius was still active in 69, as we have seen; and it is perhaps simplest to suppose that he was still the leader of the Brigantes when Cerialis led the army of Britain against them, and fought the hard battles to which we have passing references in the *Agricola*. No doubt the missing books of the *Histories*, if they had only survived, would have given us the story in detail. But it is worth noting that the poet Statius credits the predecessor of Cerialis, Vettius Bolanus, with having dedicated trophies won in battle from a British king — and though Tacitus suggests that Bolanus was inactive against the enemy, that statement applies strictly to 69, when the civil wars of the Year of the Four Emperors were still in progress; there is still time for the first actions against Venutius and his supporters to have taken place in 70, and for the king defeated by Bolanus to have been Venutius himself. I have spoken with some confidence of Cerialis penetrating to Carlisle, and operating in the Lowlands of Scotland; in view of what Statius has to tell us, the possibility cannot be excluded, for all that Tacitus has to say about Bolanus, that it was the latter who set the ball rolling.

But in considering the first Roman contact with Scotland, I do not think that we can be justified in regarding either Cerialis or Bolanus as necessarily the first governor of Britain to send troops into that country, if not to enter it in person. I have mentioned already that the first conflict between Venutius and Cartimandua broke out in 51 or 52; and Tacitus records, in the *Annals*, that after Venutius had invaded the queen's kingdom, Roman cohorts were sent to her support, and presently a legion too (no doubt, the Ninth, from Lincoln) was sent; where these Roman troops operated, in support of the Brigantian loyalists, cannot be known: but the possibility is not excluded that a flying column, with a less senior officer in charge of it, might have penetrated into Annandale in the fifties, long before Vespasian had been thought of as a candidate for the throne. And even such an officer might have had a predecessor on the same route.

Tacitus in the *Annals* devoted three sections to describing events in Britain. The first section, covering the Claudian invasion and the whole of the governorship of Aulus Plautius, is lost, and all that we have to indicate its scope is a tantalising reference back, in the second one, when Venutius is brought on to the scene.²⁴ After the capture of Caratacus, Tacitus writes, Venutius the Brigantian was the outstanding general (of the Britons), "as I have noted above", long faithful to the Romans and defended by their arms while he was the husband of Cartimandua. This can only mean that within the four years when Plautius was in Britain (43-47), there were Roman troops operating in Brigantian territory, in support of its ruling house; and as Professor Momigliano has recently pointed out,²⁵ some of his contemporaries credited Vespasian, who commanded *II Augusta* under Plautius, with penetrating into Caledonia in that period. When we remember that later writers claim that Claudius received the submission of Thule (a claim that Tacitus was at pains, in the *Agricola*, to give his father-in-law the nearest approach to credit for), it will not seem out of the question that some Romans may have made their way, if only on reconnaissance with Brigantian guides, into Scotland before ever Plautius left Britain or the trouble between Cartimandua and Venutius came to a head. But that brings me into speculative fields, into which it would be beyond my brief to venture; my main purpose will have been served if I have been able to convey some idea of the fluidity which must have prevailed on the northern frontier of the Roman province, for a generation after the Claudian invasion, and of the extent to which the Roman advances under Vespasian and again in the governorship of Lollius Urbicus must have been conditioned by the alliance between Venutius and his northern supporters. As for Ptolemy's source, or rather the source on which Marinus of Tyre relied, it may well have been Claudian in date, for all that some of the place-names in Scotland can only have been added after Roman armies had fought there and Agricola's forts had been built.

²⁴ *Ann.* 12, 40.

²⁵ *J.R.S.* XL, 1950, 41 f.

V

ROMAN LAW AND ROMAN BRITAIN*

* *Durham University Journal*, March 1947, 58-63.

THE *Corpus Iuris Civilis* includes a large quantity of material of interest to the historian, and especially the social historian, quite apart from its primary value for the study of Roman law. Much of it, indeed, is technical and dull except to the legal specialist, though even where Titius and Seius (the John Doe and Richard Roe of the Roman jurists) mask the real actors in a case, we may sometimes detect as piquant a story as ever adorned the police-court news in a modern newspaper; and it sometimes happened that the classical jurists reported, and Justinian's codifiers preserved, full details of names and cases, giving us useful sidelights on the private life of historical characters, or preserving the names of governors and magistrates of whom history has no other record. There is a great mass of miscellaneous information, on the life and manners of governors and governed, embedded in these cases; they allow us to watch the emperor's privy council in session, a banker conducting his business — or a senator's son evolving an ingenious scheme for robbing temples¹; the finest and the most ignoble traits of human character are illustrated by concrete examples, and the habits of all ranks in society are to be seen all the more convincingly because of their matter of fact presentation: the satires of a Juvenal are bound to exaggerate or distort the truth, but the jurists provide us with an undistorted mirror of their times.

They provide, incidentally, a useful harvest for the prosopographer; there are many provincial governors and other senators known only from passages in the *Digest* which, with the *Codes*, contributes substantially to the *Fasti* of some provinces, such as Syria or Africa. Britain, by comparison, comes off very badly, but it will be worth while to see what material there is which relates directly or indirectly to it; and

¹ Cf. *Dig.* 28, 4, 3; 16, 3, 28; 48, 13, 12.

such an examination may be usefully supplemented by a brief survey of the part played in formulating and administering Roman law by senators or equestrians whose names occur in the historical records of Roman Britain; in that connection the present paper may serve to illustrate certain aspects of the development of Roman legal science, the subject of a recent book.²

A large proportion of the imperial rescripts quoted in the *Corpus Iuris* were issued to provincial governors, in reply to legal problems referred to the emperor by them; in many cases, but very far from all, the extracts in the *Corpus* include the governor's name and that of his province. There are only two such references to governors of Britain. The first, *Digest* 28, 6, 2, 4, is a rescript of Severus and Caracalla to Virius Lupus, the first governor appointed by them to Britain after the overthrow of Clodius Albinus at Lugdunum on 19 February 197; Cassius Dio records how Lupus bought peace from the Maeatae in the north, while archæology has shown that he was faced with the need to rebuild the whole fabric of military rule throughout the frontier area, and inscriptions from Ilkley, Bowes and Corbridge attest his work of reconstruction; the rescript referred to in the *Digest* shows that he was not too busy with his military duties to attend to his functions as Chief Justice of the province, for it deals with an inheritance problem. The second reference, *Cod. Theod.* 11, 7, 2, casts a tantalising gleam of light on post-Diocletianic Britain; it is a rescript of Constantine the Great, dated 20 November 310, to Pacatianus, Vicar of Britain, and dealing (rather obscurely, for the text seems to be corrupt) with the liability of town councillors for the payment to the Treasury of taxes due from their tenants.³ By now, the Roman world was one of increasing specialisation; civil and military careers had been completely separated, and the Vicar performs, in the fourth century, the administrative and legal functions which were previously only a part, and sometimes only a very small part, of the duties of the earlier *legatus Augusti pro praetore*: in a military province such as Britain, his duties as commander-in-chief must often have

² F. Schulz, *History of Roman Legal Science*, 1946 [; cf. also the unsigned review, D.U.J., March 1947, 75 f.]

³ For an ingenious attempt to explain the significance of this passage, cf. now Mr C. E. Stevens's paper, "A possible conflict of laws in Roman Britain", in J.R.S. XXXVII, 1947, 132-134.

bulked largest, as they did with Agricola in the Flavian period. It is of interest to note that the Vicar has some say in financial matters; from the earliest days of the Principate these had been the special concern of the procurators, and a wise governor interfered in them as little as possible⁴; yet cases were bound to arise in which governor and procurator were both concerned, calling for tact and diplomacy on both sides,⁵ and such cases must have become if anything more common under the elaborate Diocletianic bureaucracy — the Vicar might well be thankful that he had no military duties to distract him from his other office work.

There is a further case, in which Britain is not indeed mentioned, but there is reason to believe that the governor concerned was serving in that province. It is a rescript of Hadrian, *Dig.* 28, 3, 6, 7, to Pompeius Falco,⁶ transferred to Britain from Lower Moesia in 118 (within a year of Hadrian's accession) and superseded by Platorius Nepos, the builder of the Wall, in 122; thereafter he served as proconsul of Asia for a year, before retiring to private life and experiments in arboriculture. The rescript dealt with the disposal of the estate of a legionary who had committed suicide (hence the case could not relate to the period of his proconsulship, for there were no legionaries in Asia); unless the soldier had committed suicide to avoid the consequences of an offence against military law, Hadrian ruled, his will was to remain valid (if he had made one): otherwise his property was to go to his next-of-kin or, if he had none, to the legion in which he had served. A consideration of dates will show that the odds are rather better than four to one in favour of this episode relating to Falco's governorship of Britain, when a decisive victory was won against the northern tribes, and the way was cleared for a new definition of the frontier, once Hadrian himself had considered the problem on the spot.

In another instance there is a much less certain possibility of a British connection. There is a rescript of Antoninus Pius, *Dig.* 50, 1, 11, to an otherwise unknown Lentulus Verus (by the context, either a provincial governor or a senatorial magistrate), dealing with the legal liability of colleagues in a

⁴ *Dig.* 1, 16, 9.

⁵ Cf. Tacitus, *Agricola* 9.

⁶ The MSS. read *Pomponius*, wrongly; his career is given by ILS 1035; on arboriculture cf. Fronto, I, p. 140 (ed. Haines).

magistracy; now the fragmentary diploma found some years ago at Colchester, probably assignable to A.D. 159 (two years before the death of Pius) gives as governor of Britain — *Ianus Len[—]*⁷; Lentulus seems the only reasonable *cognomen* to restore, and it may therefore have been to a governor of Britain that that rescript was issued. His predecessor in Britain, Cn. Julius Verus, may be the same as the Julius Verus to whom, a few years later, Marcus and Verus issued a rescript, *Dig.* 48, 16, 18, but he had left Britain before their accession, so that in this case the history of the province is not in question. The same must be said of the references to two men attested as legionary commanders in Britain at the turn of the second and third centuries, Claudius Hieronymianus of *VI Victrix* (*Dig.* 33, 7, 12, 40, quotes a property case in which he was concerned while living in Italy) and L. Julius Julianus of *II Augusta* (undoubtedly the same as the addressee of a rescript from Severus and Caracalla, *Dig.* 48, 21, 2).⁸

Rescripts were quoted from the files of the emperor's legal secretariat; but the *Digest* also quotes cases heard by magistrates or provincial governors, which happen to have come to the notice of the jurists who placed them on record. Two such cases concern Britain. The first, *Dig.* 36, 1, 48, comes from Javolenus Priscus, the eminent jurist whose literary criticism caused the younger Pliny to wonder if he was really sane⁹; it arises out of the will of a chief pilot in the British fleet, who left his property to a ship's captain in trust for an infant son; the latter died before coming of age: should the ship's captain or the chief pilot's brother-in-law, as next-of-kin, inherit the property? This case no doubt came before Javolenus when he was serving in Britain as *legatus iuridicus*, a post established in the Flavian period, perhaps when Agricola himself was governor; Javolenus held it *circa* A.D. 84-86. The other case, less obviously relating to Britain, is that of the slave-woman quoted by Pomponius (*Dig.* 49, 15, 6): condemned to hard labour in the salt-works, thence carried off by bandits from across the frontier, sold by them and repurchased by her owner, the centurion Cocceius Firmus — to whom the

⁷ XVI 130, cf. J.R.S. XXVIII, 228; the reading here proposed is based on a recent examination of photographs of the fragment.

⁸ Cf. VII 240 = ILS 4384 for Cl. Hieronymianus, XI 4182 and VII 480 for Julius Julianus.

⁹ Pliny, *Ep.* 6, 15.

Treasury had to refund the cost of repurchase; I have shown elsewhere¹⁰ that there is good reason to suppose that the episode belongs to the period (in the middle of the second century) when M. Cocceius Firmus was serving as a centurion of *II Augusta* on the Antonine Wall in Scotland, where several altars dedicated by him have been found.

The series of extracts closes with two echoes of campaigns. *Cod. Just.* 3, 32, 1 of 5 May 210 is a rescript of Severus and Caracalla issued from York; though *Eboraci* only appears now in that instance, no doubt the other five rescripts of the same year originally carried the same place-reference. It does not necessarily follow that the campaign against the Caledonians and Maeatae was at a standstill in May 210, for that eminent jurist, the praetorian prefect Aemilius Papinianus, was himself in attendance on the emperors in Britain, and his legal staff would be able to ensure continued attention to even the dulllest routine business — and the half-dozen rescripts of this year are an exceptionally dull lot. Finally, there is an echo of the winter expedition of Constans to Britain in *Cod. Theod.* 11, 16, 5, of 25 January 343, issued from *Bononia* = Boulogne (he was back in Trier, after the successful conclusion of that expedition, by the end of June).

The little group of instances which we have been considering touches on several aspects of the Roman legal system; let us see how it is illustrated by a survey of the personnel attested in the records of Roman Britain.

It was undesirable, as Agricola learnt from his mother, for a Roman senator to devote too much time or enthusiasm to the study of philosophy¹¹; but law was a subject which he could not neglect even if he chose. Whether as legislator, judge or advocate (and at one time or another he must be all of these) he was bound to take cognisance of it; and he might go further, if his tastes and abilities led in that direction, and specialise in the study of jurisprudence, giving advice to his friends and clients, teaching such younger men as cared to sit at his feet, and influencing a wider circle and, it may be, posterity too, by his writings on some branch or even the whole field of the law. Roman Britain can show examples to illustrate all these types of legal activity.

¹⁰ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* LXX, 1936, 363-377 [reproduced at pp. 87-103 below].

¹¹ Tacitus, *Agric.* 4.

First, legislation. Under the Principate this might in practice take the form of a *lex* or the more informal *senatus consultum*, in each case the outcome of deliberation in the senate at Rome, and named after the consul or consuls during whose term of office it was issued; or, more commonly as years passed by, the emperor's "Constitutions" (*Dig.* 1, 4, 1, 1), often promulgated without reference to the senate (this was only one of the ways in which its authority, once supreme in the state, was whittled away). There are three *senatus consulta* of interest in the present connection: (a) *S. C. Ostorianum*, named after P. Ostorius Scapula, second governor of Roman Britain, whose energetic campaigns are described so vividly by Tacitus in the *Annals*; the year of his suffect consulship is unknown, but it can be shown to have been either 43 or, less probably, 45: the *senatus consultum*, preserved in *Dig.* 38, 4, 1 and referred to in *Institutiones* 3, 8, 3, deals with the status of freedmen; (b) *S. C. Trebellianum*, on *fideicommissa*, named after the M. Trebellius Maximus who was to govern Britain unenergetically and uneasily from 63 to 69, finally quarrelling with his legionary commanders and having to flee the country: he was suffect consul with Annaeus Seneca in 56 or possibly 55, and the *senatus consultum* (*Dig.* 36, 1, 1, 1-2) was promulgated on 25 August of one or other year; (c) the *S. C.* which it is convenient to refer to as *Hosidianum* (ILS 6043) was issued on 22 September in the consulship of Cn. Hosidius Geta and L. Vagellius, most probably assignable to A.D. 45: Hosidius Geta had distinguished himself a few years previously in Mauretania, and it seems possible that he had commanded one of the four legions of the army of invasion under Aulus Plautius in A.D. 43 — the subject-matter in this case was the preservation of house property in Italy.

It was an increasingly rare chance for a senator's name to be preserved in the Statute Book as mover of a *senatus consultum*, but he was bound to spend a large part of his time as a judge, whether as praetor in the law-courts, as consul in those cases which came before the senate, as governor of a province, as member of the emperor's privy council, or in one or other of the appointments under the emperor which carried judicial duties. The most honourable of these appointments was the prefecture of Rome, normally assigned to a senior consular, often for life, as a reward for distinguished services

to the State rather than for special legal eminence (Pegasus, prefect of Roman under Domitian, is the only holder of that office who was also an eminent jurist); Q. Lollius Urbicus, builder of the Antonine Wall in Scotland and the most successful general of his day, was appointed prefect of Rome by Antoninus Pius in or shortly after 150, and in 271 the office was held by T. Flavius Postumius Varus, who had commanded *II Augusta* in Britain fifteen or twenty years previously. The cases quoted from the *Digest* will serve to illustrate the sort of judicial business with which provincial governors might have to deal, or which they might refer to the emperor for a ruling; a governor with military ambitions might find such business irksome, as Tacitus points out in dealing with Agricola's governorship of *Aquitania*,¹² and the military commitments in Britain were so considerable that Vespasian or Titus provided the governor of that province with a special deputy for legal business, the *legatus iuridicus* to whom reference has already been made; it happens that the first two holders of that post known to us illustrate particularly well the two functions still to be described, advocate and jurist. The first was C. Salvius Liberalis, whose fearless defence of the Greek millionaire Hipparchus won Vespasian's approval¹³; he fell under a cloud towards the end of Domitian's reign, and was probably sent into exile; under Nerva and in the early years of Trajan he was back in Rome, and he figures more than once, as counsel for the prosecution or for the defence, in the younger Pliny's letters¹⁴; Pliny clearly had a high regard for his eloquence and legal ability. Advocacy was not a profession, as it is to-day, so much as one of the duties which a senator undertook on behalf of his clients — whether individuals, cities or whole provinces — or friends; no cases are recorded in which the province of Britain, through its Council, was concerned, but inscriptions record two senatorial patrons of the province, whose duties would include advocacy in such cases, namely, M. Vettius Valens in the closing years of Hadrian, and C. Julius Asper in the time of Severus.¹⁵ The second *iuridicus* known to us, and the immediate successor of Salvius Liberalis, was the jurist L. Javolenus Priscus,

¹² Tacitus, *Agric.* 9.

¹³ Suetonius, *Vesp.* 13.

¹⁴ *Ep.* 2, 11; 3, 9.

¹⁵ XI 383 (Valens) and XIV 2508 (Asper).

already mentioned above; despite a full and varied career he found time to write voluminously on Roman law — the *Digest* contains a large series of extracts from his works — he was for many years head of the Sabinian school of jurists, and he has a special claim to fame as the teacher of P. Salvius Julianus, the codifier of the Edict. The latter, too, had a full public career as magistrate and provincial governor; but his activity as a jurist interfered with it to some extent — that is the only reasonable explanation of the unduly long interval between his consulship (A.D. 148) and his proconsulship of Africa (A.D. 168¹⁶); and as the second century went on, the senatorial jurist was gradually replaced by a new phenomenon, the professional equestrian lawyer.

As early as the time of Augustus the great prefectures of the praetorian guard, Egypt, the corn supply and the *Vigiles*, had acquired certain judicial functions, and the provincial procurators and their immediate superiors, the secretaries of state in Rome, were no less liable than senatorial governors to act as judges in cases of financial interest or as the emperors' agents in the conduct of the law. But under Hadrian there came a change which was to have a decisive influence on the development of Roman law. The imperial civil service (as it is convenient, though not strictly accurate, to call it) had hitherto been recruited in the main from senior equestrian army officers — most of whom had had some legal training and experience, indeed, but little opportunity for the study of legal science — or from the freedmen of the imperial house, practical men of affairs rather than legal specialists. Hadrian established a legal appointment, as *advocatus fisci* or treasury counsel, as a new stepping-stone to the higher grades of the civil service, thereby (it would seem) encouraging would-be members of that service to specialise in the law; and Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius drew the logical consequence from that innovation by appointing legal specialists to responsible positions in the upper grades of the service. It was not long before such officials, free from the distractions of senatorial office and privileges, began to supplant senators as teachers of and writers upon Roman law.

The first certain example of the new school of jurists, L.

¹⁶ Cf. Cagnat, Merlin and Chatelain, *Inscr. lat. d'Afrique* (1923), no. 244.

Volusius Maecianus, began his career in the old way, as prefect of a cohort — in Britain — under Hadrian; thereafter he transferred to the civil side and held a series of posts, culminating in the prefecture of Egypt in A.D. 161: Pius selected him as law tutor to the young Marcus Aurelius, and in both reigns his voice carried great weight in the imperial council¹⁷; his writings, like those of Javolenus, are freely quoted in the *Digest*. Ulpus Marcellus is perhaps a member of the same class; he wrote voluminously on many aspects of Roman law under Pius (in whose reign it was surely too early to find an Ulpus in the senate) and Marcus¹⁸; the question of identity is still to be settled satisfactorily, but it seems possible that late in life he was promoted to senatorial rank, and that the jurist was the same as the Ulpus Marcellus, governor of Britain, who gave the northern tribes such a thrashing in the early years of Commodus; he was certainly an elderly man, and it may be noted that his successor as governor of Britain, P. Helvius Pertinax (the later emperor) had similarly been promoted from equestrian to senatorial rank fairly late in life. Aemilius Papinianus, as we have seen, came to Britain with Severus; he and Domitius Ulpianus represent the most flourishing period of legal bureaucracy, when it was almost axiomatic that a jurist should be selected for the post of praetorian prefect; but it should be remembered that the first such prefect was Tarruntinus Paternus, appointed in the closing years of Marcus, and the last was probably Julius Paulus under Severus Alexander; as with prefects of Rome, so with praetorian prefects it was not necessary that they should be specialists in jurisprudence, though the Antonine emperors favoured the promotion of jurists to such posts. There is a Julius Paulus attested in Britain, as tribune of *cohors I Vangionum* at Risingham in Redesdale; but he cannot be equated with the jurist, Julius Paulus, for the latter studied under Cervidius Scaevola, who rose to be *praefectus vigilum* in A.D. 176 and can hardly have continued in active practice much later,¹⁹ while the Risingham inscriptions²⁰ cannot well be earlier than the time

¹⁷ Cf. *Dig.* 40, 5, 42 and 37, 14, 17.

¹⁸ The latest item traceable in his writings is dated A.D. 166 (*Dig.* 28, 4, 3).

¹⁹ The arguments once advanced for his activity continuing as late as the reign of Severus are quite unsatisfactory; he must have been well on in years by A.D. 176.

²⁰ VII 985, 1007.

of Severus. But there is an off-chance that an even more famous legal writer may have started his career, as Volusius Maecianus did, as prefect of a cohort in Britain.

The jurist Gaius, on present evidence, does not fit into the classification so far considered; he was not a senator nor a senior equestrian official, to judge by his surviving writings (there is no independent record of his career), and it is commonly assumed, and may well be true, that he was a private teacher of law. Mommsen argued, and many subsequent writers have followed him, that Gaius came from an eastern province, possibly from Alexandria Troas in the province of Asia, and that his teaching and writing was done there and not in Rome; but the evidence is not decisive, and on balance a better case can be made out for him having worked in Rome itself.²¹ The name Gaius has been the main stumbling-block, for it is properly a *praenomen* or first name, and it was (as Mommsen observed) an un-Roman practice to refer to anyone by his *praenomen* alone; but an inscription from Maryport in Cumberland²² mentions a prefect of *coh. I Hispanorum*, P. Cornelius Gaius, from Rome — in this case Gaius is a *cognomen*, and so is eligible for such use without doing any violence to Roman practice. The Maryport inscription seems datable to the time of Hadrian or conceivably the closing years of Trajan,²³ and it seems likely that it was at that period that the jurist Gaius began his career; it would be an odd coincidence if he and Volusius Maecianus first met in Britain, before either had attained to a legal eminence equalling, in the event, that achieved by any of the senatorial jurists of the old school.

²¹ Cf. Kübler in RE VII 489 f. [For a fuller discussion, cf. now Wolfgang Kunkel, *Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen*, 1952, 186-213.]

²² VII 377.

²³ Cf. L. P. Wenham in CW2 XXXIX, 1939, 23 f.

VI

A ROMAN ALTAR FROM BANKSHEAD, AND
THE *IMPERIUM GALLIARUM**

* *Cumberland & Westmorland Transactions*, new series, XXXVI,
1936, 1-7.

THIS inscription, found in the Bankshead milecastle¹ in 1808, presents a problem of dating that has not yet been solved satisfactorily. The reading is certain: *deo Cocidio milites leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito), Apr. et Ruf. co(n)s(ulibus)* — "to the god Cocidius, soldiers of the twentieth legion Valeria Victrix gladly and deservedly paid their vow, in the consulship of Apr. and Ruf." But among the *consules ordinarii* of the *Fasti* no such pair of names, however they are to be expanded, appears.

Huebner, indeed, referred to the suffect consulship recorded on an inscription from Nescania in Baetica,² of P. Septimius Afer and M. Sedatius Severianus; the latter included *Rufinus* among his other names, and from the known details of his career Borghesi argued that his consulship must have fallen in or shortly after A.D. 153³; thus an approximate date was secured for the Bankshead dedication. But there are two real drawbacks to Huebner's view. In the first place, if the second consul's names were to be reduced to one, and that one abbreviated, it would be reasonable to expect another name rather than *Rufinus*. His full style is recorded on a Dacian inscription⁴: Marcus Sedatius Severianus Iulius Acer Metilius Nepos Rufinus Tiberius Rutilianus Censor — the long string of names is typical of the second-century senator; but he was normally known as M. Sedatius Severianus (he is so

¹ Cf. I. A. Richmond in *CW2* XXXIII 238-240; the text is VII 802 = ILS 4722. [Bankshead milecastle is no. 52, just over two miles west of Birdoswald fort.]

² II 2008 = ILS 5423.

³ Cf. *PIR* III, S 231 [: the Ostia *fasti* now confirm that this suffect consulship belongs to A.D. 153.]

⁴ ILS 9487.

described, for example, on the Spanish inscription which records his consulship), and the proper *cognomen* to select would therefore have been Severianus, and not the third of his other five *cognomina*. Then, as Dessau pointed out in his paper on the consulship under the Gallic emperors,⁵ dating by suffect consulships became extremely rare in the provinces after the middle of the first century; while in Rome and in the official transactions of the central government the names of the suffect consuls in office for the time being were regularly employed for purposes of dating, in the provinces only the *consules ordinarii*, after whom the whole year was named, were recognised.⁶ It is difficult to suppose that a detachment of the twentieth legion, engaged in work of some kind at one of the milecastles on Hadrian's Wall, would have been aware which pair of senators were then in office as suffect consuls, let alone knowing and selecting the fourth in place of the first and customary *cognomen* of one of them for employment and abbreviation on their altar. It seems, therefore, that Huebner's attribution must be rejected, and we must look for another solution to the problem.

In the paper to which we have referred, Dessau drew attention to the fact that the separatist *imperium Galliarum* of Postumus and his successors (A.D. 259-273)⁷ had consuls of its own, since it could not be expected to recognise the consuls nominated by the central government, in opposition to which it had come into being; and many of these Gallic consulships are recorded on coins and inscriptions. Postumus is known to have held the office as many as five times, the last four occasions certainly falling within the period of his rule as emperor in Gaul; the second and third consulships of Victorinus are recorded on his coins, and three consulships of Tetricus on his; and there are other consuls who can be shown with certainty or probability to have held office under

⁵ In *Mélanges Boissier*, Paris, 1903, 165-8.

⁶ At first sight the Spanish record of the suffect consulship of Septimius Aper and Sedatius Severianus might seem to constitute an exception strong enough to invalidate Dessau's reasoning; but it really proves the rule, for by giving the *tria nomina* of the suffect consuls it emphasises its own exceptional character. It may be conjectured that either Aper or Sedatianus had a connection with Nescania; this would explain the local knowledge of and interest in the consulship.

⁷ For the chronology of this period, cf. the useful paper by S. Bolin, *Die Chronologie der gallischen Kaiser*, in *Arsberättelse* 1931-1932, Lund, 1932, 93-154.

the same regime. Dessau instanced an inscription from the north of Spain,⁸ set up in the consulship of Postumus (for the fourth time) and Vict(orinus) — the latter presumably the same as the later emperor, whose coins as we have seen record his subsequent tenures of the office; another, from Gallia Lugdunensis,⁹ giving a pair of consuls, Dialis and Bassus, who are unknown to the regular Fasti; and two inscriptions on which the consulship of Censor and Lepidus, each for the second time, is recorded. Of these one comes from Mainz in Upper Germany,¹⁰ and the other from Lancaster¹¹; we may now add a third example, found a few years ago at Bonn in Lower Germany.¹² The distribution of these inscriptions confirms the evidence of milestones and other epigraphic texts, that Postumus and his successors were in control not only of Gaul and the Germanies, but also of Spain and Britain — in this case, as in so many more, the Diocletianic creation of the praetorian prefecture of the Gauls involved the formal adoption by the central government of one of the irregularities of the third century; and it seems reasonable to assign pairs of consuls, otherwise unknown, that come to light in that area, to the same period. Such an attribution of the Bankshead inscription would remove the difficulty referred to above; for the names of the Gallic *consules ordinarii* would naturally indicate the date in Britain, where those of *suffecti* would not. And, we may add, the lettering of the Bankshead altar certainly seems more suitable for a date soon after the middle of the third century than for the time of Antoninus Pius.

If this attribution is accepted, it must be noted that there is room for doubt as to the correct expansion of each of the consular names (Aper or Apronianus, Rufus or Rufinus, are possible), and if we are to add another pair of names to the Fasti of the Gallic Empire, we must for the present content ourselves with following the example set by the soldiers of the twentieth legion, and add them in their abbreviated form.

An examination of the evidence for the Gallic Fasti enables us to narrow the period within which the Lancaster inscription and — if our attribution is correct, that from Bankshead also

⁸ II 5736.

⁹ XIII 3163.

¹⁰ XIII 6779.

¹¹ VII 287 = ILS 2548.

¹² AE 1930 no. 35.

— was set up. The principal evidence comes from the coins, for a note on which I am indebted to Mr Percy Hedley; I adopt Bolin's dating of the reigns.¹³ In the following table, the references in brackets are to coins; references to inscriptions, where they occur, are added after the consuls' names.

THE CONSULSHIPS OF THE IMPERIUM GALLIARUM

A.D. 259	Postumus (TR.P. COS.) and . . .
260	Postumus (TR.P. II COS. II) and . . .
261	Postumus (TR.P. III COS. III) and . . .
262	} No names recorded.
263	
264	
265	
266	
267	Postumus (TR.P. VIII COS. III) and Vict(orinus): II 5736.
268	Postumus (TR.P. X COS. V) and . . .
269	Victorinus (TR.P. II COS. II) and Sa(n)ctus: XIII 11976, cf. Dessau, "Die Consulate des Kaisers Victorinus", <i>Germania</i> I, 1917, 173-4.
270	Victorinus (TR.P. III COS. III) and . . .
271	Tetricus (TR.P. II COS.) and . . .
272	Tetricus (TR.P. III COS. II) and . . .
273	Tetricus (TR.P. III COS. III) and . . .

It will be seen that the five years, A.D. 262-6, remain to be accounted for, and it is therefore within that period that the remaining consulships assigned to the Gallic empire will have fallen. As yet there is nothing to indicate the order in which they occurred, so that the list will have to be completed as follows:—

A.D. 262-6	Censor and Lepidus, each for the second time ¹⁴ : VII 287; XIII 6779; AE 1930 no. 35.
	Dialis and Bassus: XIII 3163.
	Apr. and Ruf.: VII 802.

To complete the collection of sources, it may not be out of place to add a list of the inscriptions found in Britain that attest its adherence to the Gallic emperors:—

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

¹⁴ Presumably the first consulship of each of these must be assigned to the time of Postumus; it might be conjectured that they had each served a year as colleague of the emperor. It seems likely that Censor at least, like Sanctus, was a Gaul: cf. Dessau, *Mélanges Boissier*, p. 168 and *Germania* I, p. 173.

POSTUMUS, A.D. 259-268

1. J.R.S. XII, 1922, 281: milestone from Breage, near Helston in Cornwall: *imp(eratori) C(aesari) do(mino) no(stro) Marc(o) Cassiano [Latinio Postumo P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto)]*.

2. VII 1161 with EE IX, p. 635: milestone from the road between Brecon Gaer and Llandovery: *imp(eratori) do(mino) n(ostro) Mar(co) Cassiano Latinio Postumo Pio Fel(ici) Aug(usto)*.

3. VII 820: altar from Birdoswald: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) coh(ors) I Ael(ia) Dac(orum) Postumi[ana] c(ui) p(raest) Marc(ius) Gallicus trib(unus)*.¹⁵

4. VII 822: altar from Birdoswald: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) coh(ors) I Ael(ia) Dacoru[m] Postum[i]ana c(ui) p(raest) Prob(ius)*¹⁶ *Augendus trib(unus)*.

VICTORINUS, A.D. 268-270

5. VII 1160: milestone from Pyle near Neath in South Wales: *imp(eratori) M(arco) C(aesari)*¹⁷ *Piavonio Victorino Aug(usto)*.

6. Haverfield, *Roman Britain in 1913*, p. 32: milestone from The Castles, near Chesterton in Huntingdonshire: *imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Marco Piaonio Victorino P(io) F(elici) Aug(usto) [. . .]*.

7. EE VII 1097: milestone from Lincoln: *imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Marco Piavonio Victorino P(io) F(elici) inv(icto) Aug(usto) pon[t(ifici)] max(imo) tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) p(atr) p(atriciae). A L(indo) S(egelocum) m(illia) p(assuum) XIII*. Probably A.D. 268.

8. EE IX 1254: milestone (?) from Old Penrith: *imp(erator) Ca[e]s(ar) M(arcus) [P]ia[v]onius Victorinus Pius Fe(lix) [Aug(ustus)]*.

9. *North Country Diaries, 2nd ser.* (Surtees Society, vol. 124, 1915): "Northern Journeys of Bishop Richard Pococke"

¹⁵ CIL VII 821, from Birdoswald, gives the same tribune, though the cohort lacks the title *Postumiana*; perhaps it was set up before Postumus was recognised in Britain — if so, CIL VII 820 will belong to the early years of that emperor, since commanders of regiments seem normally to have retained their posts for about three years, and seldom more.

¹⁶ The expansion suggested by Huebner is less probable.

¹⁷ As Henzen observed, M and C are interchanged by the mason's error.

(in 1760), p. 236: (milestone) from Corstopitum: *imp(eratori)* [*C(aesari)*] *M(arco) Pi[a]vonio Victorino P(io) [F(elici)] Aug(usto)*.¹⁸

TETRICUS, A.D. 270-273

10-11. VII 1150-1, EE IX 1249-50: two milestones from Bitterne, near Southampton: (a) *Ipm(eratori)* (sic) *C(aesari)* *Exsuvio* (sic) *Tetricus* (sic) *P(ius) F(elix) Aug(ustus)*, (b) *Imp(eratori) C(aesari) C(aio) Pio Esu(v)io Tetrice P(io) F(elici) A(u)g(usto)*.¹⁹

12. VII 823: altar from Birdoswald: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) coh(ors) I Ael(ia) Dac(or)um Tetricianorum* (sic) *c(ui) p(raest) Pom[p]o[ni]us Designatus [. . .] trib[unus]*.

This is not the place to refer to the significance of the road-stones and their bearing on the history of the period in Britain; but for the study of the northern frontier it is useful to note that there is activity attested at Old Penrith and Corstopitum as well as at Birdoswald.

APPENDIX

One further milestone of Postumus may now be added to the above list (J.R.S. XXVII, 1937, 249: from Margam, Glamorgan): *imp(eratori) C(aesari) M(arco) C(assiano) L(atinio) Postumo Augg(usto)* (sic).

¹⁸ Pococke's reading is as follows: IMPE·M / PIVONIO / VICTORI / NO PP / AVG; the stone is otherwise unrecorded.

¹⁹ It is possible that Bitterne may have produced a third milestone of Tetricus: cf. Haverfield in EE IX, p. 633.

VII

THE STATUS OF ROMAN CHESTER*

* *Chester Archaeological Journal*, new series, XXXVI, part ii, 1948, 173-177.

A RECENT paper by my friend Mr C. E. Stevens, published in this *Journal* in 1942,¹ drew attention to some of the evidence for the early history and the final overthrow of the legionary fortress of Deva. The purpose of the present note is to consider a question which Mr Stevens did not discuss; indeed, I cannot find that it has ever been considered seriously by students of Roman Britain. The legionary fortress itself is well known (for all that so much of it is irretrievably buried beneath the modern city) thanks to the devoted labours of successive generations of Chester antiquaries, and first and foremost of the late Robert Newstead, whose half century of watching and digging and recording has provided a firm basis for historical deductions such as those put forward by Mr Stevens. But was Deva the site of a legionary fortress and nothing more?

It is a commonplace that such fortresses on the Rhine and Danube frontiers came, in the course of the first and second centuries of the present era, to be matched by flourishing towns. The process was a gradual one, and its incidence varied in different places; but broadly speaking it followed the same lines: at first, a haphazard collection of traders' booths and the like was pitched close outside the ramparts within which the legion hibernated between campaigns in the field; then, as the fortress came to acquire permanency and enduring structures, an increasing number of time-expired soldiers chose to settle in its *canabae* rather than return to distant homes, more traders came, and the external settlement came to acquire the appearance at least of a town; finally, in many cases, that town was given official recognition and the charter of a *colonia*, with its own magistrates and town-council and with fairly wide powers of self-administration. Such, for

¹ Cf. *Chester Arch. Journ.*, N.S., XXXV, part i, 49-52.

example, was the case at Vetera, in Lower Germany, the settlement at which in A.D. 70 is described by Tacitus, in a well-known passage,² as *in modum municipii exstructa* — "built like a town"; here, a generation later, Trajan founded a colony, *colonia Ulpia Traiana*, the remains of which lie below and around the little town of Xanten (itself largely ruined in the closing stages of the recent war). But not all such settlements received a charter; for example Mogontiacum,³ now Mainz, the capital of Upper Germany, though it possessed most of the external trappings and amenities of a town, remained until the time of Diocletian technically nothing more than a conglomeration of *vici* or villages; and yet it contained a quasi-municipal corporation, the *conventus civium Romanorum*, or association of Roman citizens who had made the place their home, and by the third century that body was governed by an *ordo* or town-council, the members of which were known as *decuriones*, and in that respect it was hardly to be distinguished from the normal self-governing urban community, whether *colonia*, *municipium* or the tribal *civitas* characteristic of Gaul and Britain. In the case of Trajan's colony at Xanten, its citizens could give *Ulpia Traiana* as their *origo* — i.e., the self-governing community in whose record-office their birth had been registered; at Mainz, by contrast, inhabitants of the town could not give *Mogontiacum* as their *origo* for, lacking a charter, it had no record-office, and natives of the place would normally be listed in the records of the tribal *civitas Vangionum*, in the territory of which it was situated.

When we turn to Britain, York alone of the three legionary fortresses established in the Flavian period shows a comparable development to that at Xanten. At York a *colonia* is attested in the second quarter of the third century (R. G. Collingwood, indeed, made out an attractive case for assigning its establishment to Antoninus Pius, round about the middle of the second century⁴); and by that time York was second only to London in importance. On the division of Britain into two provinces, it became the capital of Lower,

² *Historiae*, 4, 21.

³ Cf. RE XV 2427 f.

⁴ *Oxford History of England* I², 1937, 171. [But cf. I. A. Richmond's discussion in *Arch. Journ.* CIII, 1947, 74 f., and also p. 32 above.]

as London was capital of Upper Britain; and in periods of active warfare, York was regularly the site of General Headquarters: Severus himself died there in 211, and it was there, almost a century later, that Constantius died and his son, Constantine the Great, was proclaimed emperor. Neither Caerleon nor Chester can claim any such development; and yet there is evidence, not recognised hitherto in this connection, which suggests that in the case of Chester at least there was something more elaborate than mere legionary *canabae*, if not as highly organised as the colony at York.

We learn from the geographer Ptolemy⁵ that Deva was a town of the Cornovii (as inscriptions⁶ show that the tribal name is to be spelt); and we know too, as Haverfield first pointed out by analogy with conditions in Gaul,⁷ and Professor Atkinson's excavations at Wroxeter have finally proved,⁸ that the Cornovii were a self-governing *civitas*, with all the structure of a Roman provincial town, *ordo* and magistrates, but organised on a tribal and not an urban basis. In other words, inhabitants of Viroconium/Wroxeter were *cives Cornovii* and not *cives Viroconienses*; and that is what we should have expected to find in the case of inhabitants of whatever civil settlement was represented by Ptolemy's Cornovian "town" of Deva. To the Roman lawyer⁹ *Viroconium* was a village of the Cornovii, and the Cornovii themselves constituted a *civitas*; and as long as Deva was in the same political condition, the same rule would apply to it. But there are two inscriptions which seem to give Deva as an *origo*, and thus to indicate that at some time it had become independent of the Cornovii, and had acquired its own record-office and official status as a self-governing community.

The inscriptions in question come not from Britain but from Germany; that, no doubt, is why they have not hitherto attracted the attention of British scholars. The first is from Worms, the Roman Borbetomagus, a town of the Vangiones (like Mainz) in Upper Germany¹⁰: [*in honorem*] *domus*

⁵ 2, 3, 11.

⁶ EE VII 922; J.R.S. XIV 244.

⁷ VCH Shropshire I, 215 f.

⁸ Cf. D. Atkinson, *Report on excavations at Wroxeter*, 1942, 183.

⁹ Cf. Dig. 50, 1, 30 (Ulpian): *qui ex vico ortus est, eam patriam intellegitur habere, cui rei publicae vicus ille respondet*; i.e., a man from a *vicus* or village gives as his *origo* the *civitas* to which that village is subordinate.

¹⁰ XIII 6221 = ILS 4573.

divinae, Marti Loucetio sacrum, Amandus Velugni f(i)lius Devas v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) — "In honour of the imperial family, sacred to Mars Loucetius, Amandus son of Velugnus, (citizen) of Deva, willingly and deservedly fulfils his vow." The second inscription was found at Trier, Augusta Treverorum in Gallia Belgica¹¹: *Leno Marti et Ancamnae Optatius Verus Devas ex voto posuit* — "To Mars Lenus and Ancamna, Optatius Verus, (citizen) of Deva, has set up (this altar) in accordance with a vow." In the first case we have a man who is certainly not a Roman citizen, for he and his father each have the single name of *peregrini*; he cannot, therefore, have been a soldier of the twentieth legion (not that there is anything in the inscription to suggest that he was a soldier at all), for the citizenship of Rome was a prerequisite for legionary service; and it is a justifiable argument from silence that both dedicators were in fact civilians. The immediate inference is plain: Deva was no longer a village of the Cornovii, but an independent town, by the time these inscriptions were set up. That time cannot be established directly, for neither inscription is dated; and yet it must be prior to A.D. 212, for by the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of that year Caracalla conferred Roman citizenship on all free inhabitants of the Empire,¹² and Amandus, as we have seen, was not a Roman citizen. The *terminus post quem* is less easy to fix: Ptolemy, as we have seen, calls Deva a town of the Cornovii, and Ptolemy's active life was in the time of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius; but his information about Britain is derived from an earlier period — for example, he shows Lindum/Lincoln as a town of the Coritani, as it was until some time between 70 and 96, when it received the charter of a *colonia*.¹³ It will therefore be best if we content ourselves with noting that at some time between the Flavian period and the time of Caracalla's Edict, Deva had been given its independence.

What its precise status became, we cannot tell until further evidence comes to light; the choice lies between *colonia* (like York) and *municipium* (such as Mainz finally became under

¹¹ AE 1915 no. 70 = 1916 no. 28.

¹² Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History* XII, 45.

¹³ The period when Lindum became a colony is established by an inscription from Mainz, XIII 6679, set up by a chief centurion of *leg. XXII Primigenia*, native of Lindum, whose *tribus* is *Quirina*, the tribe in which all Flavian foundations were enrolled. [Cf., now, *Arch. Journ.* CIII, 1947, 29.]

Diocletian). But at least the evidence of the two inscriptions which we have been considering may serve to direct the attention of Chester antiquaries to the area outside the legionary fortress, where the town thus established must have been situated; and it is to be hoped that one day Chester itself may produce the fresh inscriptions which alone can enable us to answer the question decisively.¹⁴

¹⁴ It may be noted that Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, col. 1274, accepts *Devas* = *Deva(tis)* as a derivative from *Deva* = Chester without question, nor indeed does there seem to be any other place better qualified to claim the dedicators of the Worms and Trier altars as its citizens.

VIII

CIVIL SETTLEMENTS ON HADRIAN'S WALL*

* In "Fourth report on excavations at Housesteads", *Archæologia Aeliana*, 4th series, XII, 1935, 205-226.

THE evidence from Housesteads itself is amplified by that from a number of other sites, on Hadrian's Wall and elsewhere in Britain, and abroad; some details are given below, but in the first instance we may outline some general considerations. Perhaps the most important distinction that should be made is that between mere annexes — the small spaces (often enclosed by defences hardly less elaborate than those of the forts themselves) in which the regimental bath-house was placed, and where a few traders and camp-followers might squat in safety — and settlements proper, which often covered a considerable area, and attained economic importance and independent status; in such cases defences were sometimes but by no means always provided. The distinction between the two classes is in part a temporal one; in the early stages of the conquest of fresh territory, before the natives had become subdued and acquiescent in their new status of subjection, every fort was an outpost chosen for its military advantages alone, and even if its position was such as to ensure its economic importance when conditions became more peaceful, in the first instance facilities could not be provided for a considerable civilian population. But in the course of time the pacification of the surrounding district inevitably led to the development of trade with its inhabitants; and forts placed at important road-junctions, or on main lines of communication, might attract large numbers of civilians, not only from the immediate neighbourhood, but from further afield.

In the case of the legionary fortresses, the process began early, as is shown by the existence in A.D. 70 of a settlement at Vetera large enough to be described as a town,¹ or by the

¹ Tacitus, *Histories* 4, 22: *longae pacis opera, haud procul castris in modum municipii extructa*.

early inscriptions from the *canabae* at Mainz²; and it seems safe to say that the reason was not merely that the presence of the legions provided a market for traders and an inducement for veterans to remain in the neighbourhood after leaving the army, but that the troops were concentrated in positions of natural economic importance. On the Rhine frontier in particular, the legionary fortresses were chosen as bases for operations across the river³; on them the natural traffic lines converged, and the growth of their *canabae* into considerable towns followed easily and rapidly.

Auxiliary forts were placed at sites of less strategic, and therefore of less ultimate economic, importance; but on such sites towns often grew up. Among the German examples we may note Heddernheim (*Nida*), in origin a base-fort for the Taunus *limes*, which became a town and the centre of the *civitas Taunensium*, with all the apparatus of a Roman self-governing community⁴; Rottenburg (*Sumelocenna*), the centre of a *saltus* that extended at least as far as Köngen, 29 miles away,⁵ which in the third century likewise had become a self-governing community⁶; and even in the economic and military backwater of the Neckar district, a small town grew up at Wimpfen after the frontier had been moved forward to the outer *limes*.

Such must have been the development of towns like Corstopitum and Carlisle in Britain, although they have not yet yielded similar epigraphic evidence; and (assuming that the identification of the district is correct) there is nothing inherently improbable in Mr G. H. Wheeler's recent suggestion that the father of St Patrick was a decurion of the latter town.⁷

² Cf. XIII 6797: *Ti. Claudio Caesari Aug. Germanico pont. max. trib. pot. III imp. IIII p. p. cos. III, cives Romani manticulari negotiatores, C. Vibio Rufino leg. pro pr.* (A.D. 43); ILS 9235: the dedication of the *Gigantensäule* at Mainz, shortly before A.D. 67, by the *canabari publice*. Another *manticularius* (bag-merchant) appears on the Mainz inscription, XIII 11805.

³ Cf. Tacitus, *Historiae* 4, 23.

⁴ Cf. XIII 8003 — a *c(ur)ator* ?; XIII 7265, a *duovir*; XIII 7370, an *aedile*; XIII 6705, 7064, etc. — *decurions* and *sacerdotes*; XIII 7371 and 7424 — *colleges*, *fabr(or)um tign(ari)orum* and *iuventutis*.

⁵ XIII 9084.

⁶ XIII 6365 — *ex decreto ordinis saltus Sumelocennensis*; XIII 6384 — a *decurio civi(tatis) Suma(locennensis)*; XIII 6366 — a *sevir Augustalis*.

⁷ *English Historical Review* L, 1935, 109-13.

Indeed there is a possibility that in Britain the development was carried further than in Germany, since the Roman occupation outlasted the abandonment of the districts east of the Rhine by a century and a half; and in the period from Severus to the Picts' War, as Mr Keeney has recently shown,⁸ Corstopitum at least was growing in size, if not in elegance. Like Carlisle, it formed a convenient centre for the supply of the troops stationed on and near the Wall, and a market for the surrounding district; and both towns were on the main trunk roads that passed through the Wall into Scotland. Dr James Curle's admirable paper in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland⁹ makes it unnecessary for us to emphasise the extent and variety of the trade that was carried on with Scotland during the Roman period; but there are certain aspects of it to which we shall have to revert later.

More important for our present purpose are the settlements of another and commoner type, which only attained a measure of self-government, as *vici*. Such, in Germany, was Kōngen (*Grinario*) in the *saltus* of Sumelocenna,¹⁰ and there are many others recorded on inscriptions from the Rhineland; in Britain, the only epigraphic records come from Old Carlisle, Chesterholm, and Housesteads itself,¹¹ but there is structural evidence in plenty for settlements of comparable extent, that no doubt attained to the same measure of independence.

In an annexe a bath-house is usually the only building of importance, while there may be a few cottages and traders' booths clustering round it; but the *vicus* is both more extensive and more ambitious. Outside every fort we are accustomed to find altars, dedicated by the regiment in garrison, to Jupiter Optimus Maximus or to Mars or Hercules, who in the third century received a place in the official worship of the Roman army¹²; usually these altars seem to have been set up in a prominent position, perhaps at the side of the regimental parade-ground, and while they throw light on many aspects of the army, they have no direct bearing on the extramural settlements. But in *vici*, as opposed to annexes, alongside

⁸ AA4 XI, 1934, 158-75.

⁹ LXVI, 1932, 277-397, especially pp. 345-50.

¹⁰ XIII 11726-7; the decurion of the *civitas Sumelocennensis*, XIII 6384, presumably lived at Kōngen, where he set up an altar to a German Mercury.

¹¹ Cf. VII 346; AA3 XII 201 = AA4 VIII 194; and AA4 IX 232.

¹² Cf. Domaszewski, *Die Religion des r. Heeres*, pp. 34, 49.

the official military dedications we find altars set up by private individuals, many of them civilians, to a variety of gods, and the temples in which these altars stood. At sites like the Saalburg or Stockstadt on the Upper German *limes*, where excavation has recovered the main outline of *vicus* as well as fort, we see that there were temple-quarters, away from the main military line of communication, in which the religious life of the settlement was centred.

At Housesteads, there is evidence for two such groups of temples, and though no other fort on Hadrian's Wall has produced such extensive evidence, a number of temples are recorded:—

1. At *Wallsend* there was a temple, though we cannot say now to what god it was dedicated.¹³

2. On the east side of *Benwell* fort two altars to an otherwise unknown deity, Anociticus-Antenociticus.¹⁴ were found, in 1862, in a small temple together with fragments of a statue or statues; the restoration of a temple to the three *Matres Campestres* in 238 is recorded on another inscription¹⁵; and a dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus, as early as the time of Antoninus Pius, allows us to infer the presence of a Dolichenum, such as is commonly found in *vici* on the Upper German *limes*.¹⁶

3. An altar from *Rudchester* records the restoration of a temple of Mithras, to whom two other altars from that site were dedicated¹⁷; and from Wallis's and Hodgson's accounts of a structure whose discovery was first recorded by the former, it seems possible that it was the Mithraeum. According to Wallis, in June 1766,

"a coffin hewn out of a rock was discovered in digging near the same place by some labourers, about twelve feet long, four broad, and two deep; a hole close to the bottom at one end; a transverse partition of stone and lime, about three feet from the other end; many decayed bones, teeth, and vertebrae in it; supposed by their shape and size to be the remains of some animal, sacrificed, perhaps, to *Hercules*"¹⁸;

¹³ VII 494, found at Tynemouth, but attributable to Wallsend.

¹⁴ VII 503, 504.

¹⁵ VII 510; the erasure of the titles *Pupienae Balbinae* gives precision in dating.

¹⁶ VII 506.

¹⁷ VII 542; 541, 544.

¹⁸ *Northumberland*, 1769, II 168.

and Hodgson adds, "I was told that it also contained a three-footed candlestick of iron."¹⁹ Such a candlestick was found in the undoubted Mithraeum at the Saalburg, and the dimensions of the "cistern" (as Hodgson calls it) are such as to suggest that it formed the central passage of the nave of a Mithraeum. If occasion should offer, it would be well worth while to re-excavate the structure.

4. At *Chesters*, as at Benwell, a Dolichenum may be inferred, from an inscription,²⁰ and from a sculpture that has recently been shown to represent Juno Regina, the consort of Jupiter Dolichenus.²¹

5. *Carrawburgh*, like Benwell, can boast of an excavated temple to a local deity, the goddess Coventina, to whom a large number of dedications, recovered by John Clayton over half a century ago, bear witness.²²

6. Passing over Housesteads, which falls to be considered in a later section, we come to *Chesterholm*, where Wallis records the discovery and destruction of a temple "adorned with doric pilasters and capitals" to the west of the fort, some years before the publication of his history.²³

7. From *Greatchesters* come two more dedications to Jupiter Dolichenus; the first of these seems to have been set up by a number of worshippers, one of whom was a woman.²⁴

8. At *Carvoran* also there seems to have been an altar, and therefore presumably a temple, to Dolichenus²⁵; and though the dedications there to the Syrian goddess have been explained as evidence of official military religion,²⁶ the metrical inscription by Marcus Caecilius Donatianus²⁷ can hardly have been set up in the headquarters of the fort or on its parade-ground.

9. *Birdoswald* has produced a fragmentary inscription of A.D. 236, that records the building, perhaps of a temple of

¹⁹ *History of Northumberland*, II iii 178.

²⁰ EE VII 1016.

²¹ Cf. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* LXVI, 1932, 276.

²² Cf. AA2 VIII 1-49 with plan facing p. 21, and view facing p. 1. [For the Mithraeum found at Carrawburgh in 1949, and fully excavated in 1950, cf. now AA4 XXIX, 1951, 1-92.]

²³ *Northumberland*, 1769, II 27.

²⁴ VII 725, EE IX 1192.

²⁵ VII 753.

²⁶ Domaszewski, *Die Religion*, p. 52.

²⁷ VII 759.

Mithras, though the restoration is not certain,²⁸ while another fragment seems to refer to a priest.²⁹

10. An inscription from *Castlesteads* records the rebuilding of a temple to the *Matres omnium gentium* (no doubt the same as the *Matres com(munes)* of two altars from Chesters and Carrawburgh³⁰), whilst there are two dedications from this site to Mithras.³¹

At the Saalburg, whose *vicus* is perhaps the best example so far examined, and at a number of other German sites, both Mithras and Dolichenus had their temples; but it will be seen that as yet no fort on Hadrian's Wall has produced evidence for the worship of both these deities: Mithras was worshipped at Rudchester, Housesteads (as we shall see), perhaps Birdoswald, and Castlesteads³²; Dolichenus at Benwell, Chesters, Greatchesters and Carvoran. The lack of overlap may be no more than accidental, but it is worth noting.

In the foregoing survey of sites on the Wall, we have only considered temples that are known, or can be inferred with certainty; it is probable that a number of other deities, to whom extant altars were erected, were also provided with temples: Cocidius, for example, whose cult centred somewhere in north-east Cumberland, was worshipped at Birdoswald and Castlesteads as well as at Housesteads and a number of mile-castles, though it is only at Housesteads that there are sufficient altars to him to make the inference of a temple certain. But many of the altars seem to provide evidence for the character of family worship rather than for the existence of public temples. Some of the dedications to the Mothers are on the small "portable" altars of this type that must have been placed in private shrines; and so are most if not all of the dedications to Belatucadrus³³ and Huitris (or the Veteres). Such inscriptions, perhaps, throw more light than any other class of evidence on the character of the settlements in which they occur, for most of them were set up by people who seem to have had no direct connection with the army; while Cocidius was worshipped by officers and legionary soldiers, the votaries

²⁸ VII 833b.

²⁹ VII 833.

³⁰ VII 887; EE VII 1017, 1032.

³¹ VII 889, 890.

³² Also at Carrawburgh (note 22 above).

³³ For the form of the name, cf. I. A. Richmond in CW2 XXXIII

of Belatucadrus and Huitris were mainly civilians and (we may add) natives of the north of Britain, to which the cults were confined.³⁴ The distribution of these inscriptions on the line of the Wall is interesting:—

	<i>Belatucadrus</i>	<i>Huitris-Veteres</i>
Benwell	—	2 (VII 511-2)
Chesters	—	3 (VII 581-2; EE VII 1018)
Carrawburgh	1 (VII 620 = AA4 II, p. 56 no. 6)	2 (VII 502b, ³⁵ 619)
Housesteads	—	4 (EE IX 1181-3; AA4 IX, p. 232)
Chesterholm	—	3 (VII 709-11)
Greatchesters	—	3 (VII 727-9)
Carvoran	3 (VII 745-6; EE VII 1053)	13 (VII 502a, 727?, 760-8; EE VII 1056-7)
Castlesteads	2 (VII 873-4)	—
Burgh-by-Sands	3 (VII 934-5; EE VII 1084)	—

The cult of Belatucadrus seems to have centred in north Westmorland and east Cumberland; with the exception of the single instance from Carrawburgh, and an altar of unknown provenance that came to light a few years ago at Hexham,³⁶ it did not extend further east than Carvoran, the most westerly outpost (but for Netherby, which has produced three dedications³⁷) and numerically the strongest centre of the cult of Huitris. The number of dedications of this class, only one of them certainly by a soldier,³⁸ at Carvoran emphasises the importance, clear on other grounds also, of the *vicus* at that place. The subject is one that we can only indicate at present; but an analysis of the evidence contained in the inscriptions of this kind in the north of Britain would be well worth undertaking.

³⁴ Cf. CW2 XXXII 136-7; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, 4th ser., III 131-3.

³⁵ Cf. AA4 II, p. 72 no. 56.

³⁶ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, 4th ser., III 132.

³⁷ VII 958, 960; EE VII 1087. The first of these seems to connect Huitris with the god Mogon of Risingham. For the *Veteres* cf. Haverfield's paper in AA2 XV 22-43.

³⁸ VII 760, by an *imaginifer* of coh. II *Delmatarum*.

With the evidence derived from a study of the names of the dedicators of altars we may compare that provided by tombstones. On the line of the Wall, such evidence is still comparatively scanty, since there has been no methodical examination of the cemeteries; with few exceptions, the tombstones that have been found had been re-used in the Roman period as flag-stones or in the walls of late buildings. For all that, there are some forty inscriptions of this type, from the Wall and from the outlying forts to the north of it (a quarter of them come from Risingham, where it is plain that there was a considerable settlement), recording the relations — wives, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters — of men who for the most part do not record any military rank; and some of them, like the majority of the votaries of Belatucadrus and Huitris, possess only the single name of *peregrini*. This evidence, too, we can only indicate for future analysis; but there is one inscription that deserves special attention:—

VII 739, Greatchesters: *d. m. Ael. Mercuriali cornicul., Vacia soror fecit.*

It is the tombstone of Aelius Mercurialis, *cornicularius* (adjutant) — no doubt of the second cohort of Asturians, the garrison of Greatchesters in the third century, set up by his sister Vacia; and it provides the only specific evidence from the line of the Wall for the operation of the system of local recruiting that became increasingly common from the time of Hadrian onwards, and the rule (in so far as the local supply of suitable recruits sufficed) in the third century. In Germany there is considerable evidence for the practice — it will be sufficient to instance a soldier of the eighth legion and two of the twenty-second, both legions stationed in Upper Germany, who are described as *cives Sumelocennenses*³⁹; among the legionaries in Britain, three at least were British, and of those one had his home in the *canabae* of the second legion at Caerleon,⁴⁰ while we may add at least three other auxiliary

³⁹ XIII 2506, 6669.

⁴⁰ *Leg. II Aug.* — VII 126, Caerleon: *d. m. Tadia Vallaunius, vixit ann. LXV, et Tadius Exuper(a)tus filius, vixit ann. XXXVII, defunctus expeditione Germanica. Tadia Exuperata filia matri et fratri piiss(i)ma secus tumulum patris posuit.* Exuperatus was born *castris*, while his father was still in the army and hence unable to contract a legal marriage, so that he had the same *nomen* as his mother; though his military rank and the name of the legion in which he served are not mentioned, the mention of the German expedition on which he lost

soldiers attested on British inscriptions.⁴¹ The fact that his sister set up the tombstone to him shows that the home of Mercurialis was in the *vicus* at Aesica; otherwise, it is hardly likely that she would have found her way there.

The evidence of tombstones leads us from the consideration of the temples and cults of the settlements to that of the cemeteries in which their inhabitants were buried. Throughout the Empire the Roman regulation, that the dead should be buried outside the boundaries of the town, was in force, although the fact of successive emperors re-enforcing the rule shows that it was not universally observed⁴²; indeed, there are plenty of cases of burial within the occupied area in British sites, including Housesteads itself. But for the most part the regulation was observed. Most commonly, the cemeteries lined the roads leading away from the town or village; at the Saalburg, the principal cemetery flanked the road to Hedderheim, beginning immediately south of the main temple-quarter; at Carrawburgh, burials are recorded from the side of the

his life shows that he had entered the army, and presumably this legion.

Leg. VI Vic. — ILS 2365, Rome: *d. m. M. Ulpio Ner(viae) Quinto Glevi, mil. fr. leg. VI V., Calidius Quietus collega fratri observato piissimo b. m. f. c.* This inscription is the only piece of evidence for the foundation of a colony at *Glevum* (Gloucester) by Nerva (A.D. 96-8).

Leg. XX V. V. — VII 49, Bath: *Iulius Vitalis fabriciesis leg. XX V. V. stipendiorum IX anor. XXIX natione Belga ex collegio fabrice elatus, h. s. e.* A soldier described as a Belga, buried at Bath in the territory of the British canton of the Belgae, must be a Briton. Riese has no other instance of a soldier so described; soldiers from Belgica give the names of their cantons.

⁴¹ *Coh. II Thracum* — VII 1091 + EE IX p. 623, Mumrills: *dis. m. Nectovellius f. Vindicis an. XXX stip. VIII nationis Brigans, militavit in coh. II Thr.*

Coh. I Vardullorum — the Colchester diploma (J.R.S. XIX 216-7 [now XVI 130]) was issued to a Roman citizen, Saturninus, *Glevi*.

An *ala* — VII 264, Malton: *d. m. Aur. Macrinus, ex eq. sing. Aug.* The *equites singulares* were kept up to strength by the transfer of troopers from the *alae* in the provinces; Macrinus presumably started his service in Britain, of which he was a native, as his return to live at Malton after taking his discharge shows.

⁴² SHA Pius 12: *intra urbes sepeliri mortuos vetuit; SHA Marcus 13: leges sepeliendi sepulchrorumque asperrimas sanxerunt.*

military way, both west and east of the milecastle⁴³ — there the civil settlement was confined to the south and west sides of the fort⁴⁴; and at Chesterholm there was a cemetery on the north side of the Stanegate, for some distance westward from the fort.⁴⁵ But it is not uncommon to find groups of burials placed away from the main roads, close to temples; thus, there is a small cemetery beside the Dolichenum at the Saalburg; another cemetery is recorded at Chesterholm "in a swampy part of a close to the south-west of the field in which the station stands"⁴⁶; and the cemetery of Greatchesters was apparently some distance east of the branch road that connected that fort with the Stanegate.⁴⁷ Although the growth of a settlement might lead to it spreading over early cemeteries, it is generally safe to say that the discovery of a cemetery will give a limit beyond which the settlement to which it belonged did not spread; as we have seen, the presence of a cemetery only a few yards east of Carrawburgh fort is explained by the concentration of the *vicus* there on the south and west sides of the fort.

In plan, settlements of this type are of two main classes, which we find combined in the larger *vici*. In the first and simpler class there is no real town-planning, apart from the placing of a cemetery away from the occupied area, and there is merely ribbon-development along the roads leading away from the centre of the village. The greater part of the *vicus* at the Saalburg is of this class, with rows of houses lining the road southward towards Heddernheim; so is the Roman town at Bregenz, which straggled along both sides of a main trunk-road.⁴⁸ In Britain there were settlements of the same type at Brecon⁴⁹ and Brougham,⁵⁰ the latter stretching for at least

⁴³ Hodgson, *Hist. Northumb.* II iii 286: in the limestone quarry east of the milecastle "the quarrymen also told me that urns, with ashes in them, were not unfrequently found here." AA4 VI 150 (Lingard's notes): "100 yds. east of the station is a castle stead. The burying place is between it and the station. Bones, etc., found in it."

⁴⁴ Hodgson, II iii 183-4.

⁴⁵ The tombstone, VII 724, was found "in a field to the north of the causeway" (Hodgson, II iii 201); and urns were dug up in the garden of Archy's Flat, 600 yards to the west (Wallis, *Northumberland* II 27).

⁴⁶ Hodgson, II iii 197.

⁴⁷ Hodgson, II iii 203.

⁴⁸ Cf. the plan in *Germania Romana*² II, pl. xi.

⁴⁹ Wheeler, *Brecon Gaer*, p. 57.

⁵⁰ CW2 XXXII 124-39.

half a mile along the main Stainmore road; but most of the British examples seem, as far as the evidence goes, to fall in the second class, in which there is a planned street-system, which allows a more methodical arrangement of buildings, and suggests a higher degree of development. Such was the case, in Germany, at Stockstadt, where the main temple-quarter was placed at an intersection of side streets on the east side of the through road; and the streets were laid out, as the level nature of the site permitted, on a regular chess-board plan. At Housesteads, too, as the plan so far recovered shows, there was an arrangement partly of the same kind, although the hill slope does not favour such schematic regularity; to judge by the surface indications, the *vicus* at Chesterholm was similar, and from the recorded discoveries of buildings at Benwell, there must have been a wider area covered there than can be accounted for by ribbon-development, even though the southward road (as at the Saalburg and at Housesteads) was lined with houses.⁵¹ The evidence from other sites on the Wall is less precise, but so far as it goes it suggests that they were arranged similarly.

Perhaps the most noteworthy feature on Hadrian's Wall, in contrast to that of Pius in Scotland, is the fact that its civil settlements were both extensive and undefended; Housesteads *vicus* seems to have suffered no permanent setback from the disaster that overtook the Wall at the close of the third century — at all events, there is no sign of it receiving defences, and the evidence so far obtained suggests that it increased in size in the period from 300 to the Picts' War. We have said that the distinction between annexes and settlements is in part a temporal one; it may be that the predominance of annexes on the Scottish Wall reflects the unsettled conditions that prevailed on the northern frontier in the second century, while the settlements on Hadrian's Wall bear witness to the peace that set in after Caracalla withdrew the Roman forces from Scotland. But it should be noted that there is as yet no evidence that any of the forts on Hadrian's Wall were ever provided with an annexe, even in the earliest stages of its occupation; at Housesteads in particular the position of the bath-house, out of sight of the fort in the ravine of the Knag Burn, and the concentration of what seem to be early buildings in the hollow at the foot of the Chapel Hill, suggest that from

⁵¹ Cf. *Northumberland County History* XIII 526-7; AA4 XI 179-83.

the first there was no great need to provide special protection for the inhabitants of the settlement.

And there is another feature that seems to show that there was a radical difference in the conditions prevailing on the two frontiers. So far as is known, the only passages through the Wall of Pius, apart from those at the north gates of the forts, were where the trunk road to Camelon, Ardoch, and Inchtuthil crossed its line, and at the extreme west end, where Sir George Macdonald has recently shown reason to suppose that a road continued westwards to a port at Dumbarton.⁵² But on Hadrian's Wall there are gateways at every milecastle, as well as where Dere Street passes through the Wall at Portgate (and presumably also at Stanwix for the western trunk road), and in the valley of the Knag Burn at Housesteads. Even after Scotland had been abandoned, forts were held to the north of Hadrian's Wall, at Risingham and High Rochester on Dere Street, Bewcastle and Netherby in the west, throughout the third century and, it seems, into the fourth century,⁵³ in which the native town on Traprain Law received consignments of pottery from the Vale of Pickering, and Cunedda led his tribesmen from the eastern lowlands of Scotland to reconquer north Wales for Rome.⁵⁴ It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that the northern neighbours of Hadrian's Wall were throughout better disposed and more peaceable than the tribes that the Wall of Pius was intended to bar out. For that reason, peaceful expansion was possible on the southern *limes*; and just as Corstopitum and Carlisle on the main trunk roads grew and (we may take it) prospered, many of the settlements on the line of the Wall developed into considerable villages.

Particularly was this the case where the natural traffic lines crossed the frontier. On the Upper German *limes*, as on Hadrian's Wall, there are frequent passages through into barbarian territory, though they do not occur with such regularity as is provided by the milecastle system; and many of the passages occur at places where pre-Roman trade-routes

⁵² *The Roman Wall in Scotland*², 1934, pp. 343, 188.

⁵³ CW2 XXXI 139; [cf. now *Northumb. County Hist.* XV, 1940, 63-159 for the Redesdale sites; CW2 XXXVIII 1938, 195-237 for Bewcastle; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* LXXII, 1938, 275-347 for the outpost fort at Birrens in Dumfriesshire.]

⁵⁴ I do not now think it possible to assign Cunedda's activities to a date earlier than c. 410; cf. in particular CW2 LI 76 f.

can be shown to have passed. At the principal passages, forts were placed, so that the traffic passing along the trade-route and through the frontier could be controlled; it was at such points that the barbarians were permitted to come to market, on a limited number of occasions and under conditions that were normally strictly imposed; and while the markets attracted merchants from within the empire as well as barbarians from outside it, they also required the appointment of Roman officials to supervise them.

Merchants and officials alike are attested on or near the Wall, and it seems worth while to collect the evidence, such as it is. For the merchants, the clearest instance is provided by the metrical dedication, to a deity whose name together with part of the dedicator's has perished, from Bowness on Solway:—

. . . onianus ded[ico].
[S]ed date ut [f]etura qua[es]tus suppleat votis fidem,
*Aureis sacro carmen mox viritim litteris.*⁵⁵

"To such and such a god I . . . onianus dedicate this inscription; grant that the increase of my trade may justify my vows, and I will then consecrate my poem with letters every one of gold."

As Dr Curle has pointed out, the dedicator must have been on the point of setting out on a trading voyage to the west of Scotland from the port at Bowness. No trace of gilding survives, so that we cannot be certain whether the voyage was a successful one.

The other instances of the presence of merchants are not so clear. First we may take Barates of Palmyra, who buried his British wife at South Shields,⁵⁶ and in due course died and was buried at Corstopitum. His tombstone was a simple one, and the inscription on it is brief:—

[d.] m. [Ba]rathes Palmorenius vexila(rius) vixit anos LXVIII.⁵⁷

Haverfield translated *vexilarius* as standard-bearer, and concluded "that Barates was at one time a soldier in the garrison of the fort at South Shields and there lost his wife. Some years afterwards, he died at Corstopitum where he was apparently living, presumably (but not necessarily) after his retirement from service"; but it does not seem possible to uphold that view. If Barates was still serving in the army

⁵⁵ VII 952 + EE VII 1086; *Tullie House Catalogue*², 1922, no. 45.

⁵⁶ EE IV 718a.

⁵⁷ EE IX 1153a. Cf. also AA3 VIII 188-9.

at the time of his death, we should expect the name of his regiment to be given; if he had left the service, he could no longer be described as a standard-bearer — we should require *ex vexillario*, not *vexillarius*. The age which he reached is sufficient to show that he could hardly have been a serving soldier; centurions, as Juvenal pointed out and inscriptions testify, sometimes reached the age of sixty before leaving the army, but after the first century it is extremely rare to find men of lower rank continuing to serve after their twenty-five years had expired; and the normal age of enlistment was within a few years of twenty. Furthermore, it is improbable in the extreme that we should find a Palmyrene serving in any British regiment in the third century (to which this tombstone is to be ascribed). But eastern traders found their way to places that never saw an eastern recruit; and it seems best to suppose that Barates was a merchant, a dealer in ensigns (or a maker of them). The termination *-arius* affixed to the name of a class of ware, with or without the precise word *negotiator*, regularly describes a merchant; and though *vexillarius* is not otherwise recorded in this sense, such an interpretation of the term provides the easiest explanation of the presence of Barates in the north of Britain.⁵⁸

Similarly, the other people recorded on inscriptions from the north of Britain, whose names or recorded origins show them to have come from the eastern half of the empire, can hardly have found their way to the west except in pursuit of trade — apart from the occasional officers or officials, whose posts are recorded together with their names⁵⁹; and their presence provides presumptive evidence for commercial activity. On the Scottish Wall the only instance is provided by an inscription from the cemetery of Auchendavy: *d.m. Salmanes vix. an. XV, Salmanes posuit*⁶⁰ — "In memory of Salmanes, who lived fifteen years, Salmanes (no doubt his father) placed this"; the name seems to be oriental. Carlisle

⁵⁸ The great variety in the standards of different regiments to which the extant sculptures testify shows that they can hardly have been made in a central factory. Other equipment too might be provided by private traders; ILS 2472 (Mainz) gives a *negotiator gladiarius*.

⁵⁹ Cf. VII 167 (Chester) — a *trib. mil. leg. XX V. V.* and his son, from Samosata; VII 232 (York) — *Nikomedes Augg. nn. libertus*, no doubt in York on official business; VII 240 (York) — *Cl. Hieronymianus*, legate of the sixth legion.

⁶⁰ VII 1119.

has produced one such inscription, the tombstone of Flavius Antigonus Papias, *civis Grecus*, who may have been a Christian⁶¹; there is a possible instance at Maryport, where an inscription seems to refer to a man from Galatia,⁶² and Hermes of Commagene, whose Greek epitaph was set up at Brough under Stainmore, was presumably the son of a merchant⁶³ — in passing, both Maryport and Brough are sites where there is reason to suppose the existence of a considerable settlement. On the line of the Wall, the only clear cases are at Housesteads: both Apollonius the priest who dedicated an altar to Nemesis, and Herion the votary of Mithras, have names that justify us in attributing them to the eastern Mediterranean.⁶⁴ At Corstopitum there are five instances, in addition to that of Barates: Pulcher and the high-priestess Diodora, who set up altars with Greek inscriptions to Astarte and the Tyrian Heracles respectively⁶⁵; the Egnatii, Dyonisius and Surius, heirs of a soldier of the sixth legion⁶⁶ and Aurelia Achaice.⁶⁷ Finally, from both of the forts on Dere Street north of Hadrian's Wall come examples; from Risingham there are the freedman Theodotus, and Dionysius Fortunatus⁶⁸; from High Rochester, Hermagoras.⁶⁹

Officials are represented by two *beneficiarii consularis*, legionary soldiers detached from their legions to serve as police and intelligence officers at various *stationes* — at important towns, or road-junctions, or passages through frontiers, where there was a likelihood of their presence being required. In Germany, the provincial capitals at Cologne and Mainz, the *civitas Taunensium* at Hedderheim, Cannstatt, and Stockstadt, among other sites have produced inscriptions testifying to the presence of consular beneficiaries; at Stockstadt in particular there is a long series of altars, many of them dated, set up by successive holders of the post, whose function must

⁶¹ EE IX 1222; cf. Haverfield in AA3 XV 32.

⁶² VII 405.

⁶³ EE VII, p. 306.

⁶⁴ VII 654, 647.

⁶⁵ VII, p. 97.

⁶⁶ VII 477.

⁶⁷ EE III 96.

⁶⁸ VII 1000, 1014; Aelia Timothea, VII 999, is suspect; cf. I. A. Richmond in *Northumb. County Hist.* XV, 1940, 136].

⁶⁹ VII 1056; Haverfield (EE IX, p. 612) rejects Huebner's reading ΘΕΟΙΣ of a small altar from this site (VII, p. 178).

have been to supervise the traffic that passed across the Main to and from free Germany. In Britain such officials are recorded at Winchester, Dorchester in Oxfordshire, Lancaster, Catterick, Greta Bridge, Binchester and Lanchester, all south of the Wall⁷⁰; at Housesteads on the Wall, and at Risingham to the north of it. The consular beneficiary at Housesteads, Litorius Pacatianus, dedicated an altar there to Mithras⁷¹; his colleague at Risingham set up an inscription to a local deity, which has occasioned difficulties of interpretation in the past, and deserves a detailed discussion:—

VII 996: *deo Mogonti Cad. et n. d. n. Aug., M. G. Secundinus b/. cos. Habitanci prima stat. pro se et suis pos.*

1. For the god, we may compare VII 997, also from Risingham, dedicated *deo Mouno Cad.*; VII 1036 (High Rochester), *dis Mountibus*; VII 321 (Old Penrith), *deo Mounti*; and VII 958 (Netherby), *deo Mogonti Vitire*. As we have seen, the latter dedication seems to suggest a connection with Huitris; the cult is in any case confined to the north of England[: but cf., now I. A. Richmond's discussion of the matter, *Northumb. County Hist.* XV, 1940, 86, suggesting that the Vangiones had brought it with them from Germany].

2. *n(umini) d(omini) n(ostri) Aug(usti)*: the formula shows that the inscription belongs to the third century, at a time when a single emperor was reigning.

3. *Habitanci*: the name is not recorded elsewhere, but it is clear that we have here the locative of a place-name, *Habitancum* or *Habitancium*.

4. *prima stat(ione)*: Horsley, adopting a suggestion made by Ward, took this to imply that Risingham was the most northerly station held by the Romans at the time this altar was set up; but the explanation of the term is certainly different. *Statio* was used both of the place where a beneficiary was stationed (for example, the *statio Vazaivitana* is mentioned on VIII 17626), and of the period of his appointment (*ibid.* 17628, *exacta statione* and 17634, *expleta statione*; XIII 11989, *iterata statione*; XIII 6440, *stat(ione) iterat(a)*; III 3949, *iter(um) stat(ionem) hab(ens)*; XIII 6637, *stat(ione) prima*); so that the term must be interpreted in the same sense here; the translation will be: "To the god Mogan Cad. and to the Lord Emperor's *numen*, Marcus G . . . Secundinus, consular beneficiary, on his first tour of duty at *Habitancum*, set up this altar for himself and his."

The presence of these officials emphasises the civil importance of the settlements at Housesteads and Risingham, to which the evidence of eastern traders also testifies. In the

⁷⁰ VII 5; 83, 286; 271-2; 280-1; 424, EE IX 1133; VII 441. [We may now add an example from Chesterholm, *per lineam valli* though south of the Wall itself: J.R.S. XXIX, 1939, p. 225.]

⁷¹ VII 645.

case of Housesteads, the extent and importance of the settlement have long been recognised, but Risingham seems to have been looked on solely as a military outpost. Such a view can hardly be entertained; in the absence of evidence for a junction of Roman roads, it is perhaps easiest to suppose that here was one of the places across the *limes* where periodical markets were allowed, under the supervision of a Roman official.⁷²

At Stockstadt the consular beneficiary seems to have had an office between the fort and the present bridge over the Main, which no doubt is in approximately the same position as the crossing in Roman times; and it seems possible that the building outside the east gate of the Saalburg fort should likewise be assigned to such an official use: for that its position is ideal, at the point where the road through the *limes* turns off from the main line of traffic along the frontier.⁷³ It may be that the building that Shanks recorded at Risingham "on the embanked part of Watling Street, near where the road to the station turns off,"⁷⁴ was put to the same use; and such a building should be postulated at Housesteads.

In the more important settlements there is another official building that we should be justified in looking for. Dr Wheeler has explained a large residential structure, close to the bath-house at Brecon Gaer, as a *mansio*, and has drawn attention to similar buildings, in comparable positions, at the Saalburg and at Newstead⁷⁵; we may add the large house on the east side of the road, some way south of Benwell fort,⁷⁶ and there is a possible instance at Housesteads. The correctness of this explanation is borne out by an inscription from Mihilci in Bulgaria, which does not seem to have attracted the attention of English scholars in this connection:—

III 6123, 14207⁷⁴; ILS 231; Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien*, 1906, no. 19: [Ner]o C[la]ud[iu]s divi Claudi f. Germ(anici) Caesaris n. Ti. Caesaris Aug. pron. divi Aug. abn. Caesar Aug. Germ. pontif. max. trib. pot. VIII imp. VIII cos. IIII p. p. tabernas et praetoria per vias militares fieri iussit per T. Iulium Ustum proc. provinciae Thrac.

The eighth tribunician power of Nero gives the date December 60 to December 61; the inscription records the erection of two different types of building, which we may render as inns and villas or (in the Indian sense) bungalows, on the military roads of Thrace. As Momm-
sen pointed out (*Hermes* XXXV 437, cited by Kalinka), under the

⁷² Cf. Dio, 72, 2, 2.

⁷³ Cf.

⁷⁴ AA1 IV, 1855, 157.

⁷⁵ Brecon Gaer, p. 67.

⁷⁶ AA4 V, 1928, 52-7.

Empire *praetorium* was used not only of the general's quarters in a camp — and, we may add, the commanding officer's residence in an auxiliary fort — but of any house reserved for official use, such as an imperial villa, a governor's Residence, or (as here) the quarters provided for officials on tours of duty.

It is reasonable to suppose that such buildings would be placed only at the more important sites; the settlement at Benwell was a very extensive one, as we have seen, and of those on Hadrian's Wall perhaps second only to that at Housesteads.

In some of the settlements on the Upper German *'limes* evidence of industrial activity has come to light; we may instance the potters' kilns at Stockstadt, Cannstatt, and other sites. In Britain there is as yet very little specific evidence. At Lanchester on Dere Street there seems reason to suppose that there were considerable iron-workings⁷⁷; Dr Curle's excavations at Newstead showed the presence there of blacksmiths and similar craftsmen; and at Housesteads there are slight traces of industrial activity; but at present Corstopitum is the only site in the north of Britain that has produced a quantity of evidence. Apart from trade and industry, agriculture must have provided employment for many of the *vicani*. There is no doubt an element of truth, but there is certainly exaggeration, in the description of the frontier armies in the fourth century as a peasant militia; the exploits of Magnus Maximus and the usurper Constantine are sufficient to show that the *limitanei* of Britain were still of military value, and able to stand up against the field-armies of the west. Hitherto there has been little concrete evidence to confirm the statement in the Augustan Histories, that Severus Alexander assigned captured territories to the commanders and soldiers of the frontier armies and their descendants, on condition of their entering the army in their turn, so that the frontier districts might continue to be both occupied and cultivated⁷⁸; but the growth of the settlements on Hadrian's Wall, the clear evidence of agriculture or at least horticulture provided by the terraces at Housesteads (to which there are parallels at Greatchesters and at Settlingsstones, near Carrawburgh, that are presumably of Roman date also), and the evidence for recruiting from among the inhabitants of the settlement at Greatchesters, combine to provide at any rate the nucleus of a confirmation in the case of the northern frontier in Britain.

⁷⁷ Hodgson in *AAI* I, 1822, 118-21.

⁷⁸ *SHA Severus Alexander*, 58.

IX

MARCUS COCCEIUS FIRMUS : AN EPIGRAPHIC
STUDY*

* *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* LXX,
1936, 363-377.

ONE of the most striking discoveries ever made in Roman Scotland was that of May 1771, when workmen engaged in the construction of the Forth and Clyde Canal dug into a rubbish-pit a short distance south of the fort at Auchendavy on the Antonine Vallum, and found in it, besides two huge iron mallets and a battered relief, four complete altars and a fragment from a fifth.¹ Occasionally there have been groups of altars found within a short time, and close together, in somewhat similar circumstances, in Britain — for example, there is the fine series that came to light at Maryport, in Cumberland, sixty years or so ago²; but in this case the interest of the find was enhanced by the fact that the four complete altars, and probably the fifth as well, had all been dedicated by the same man, Marcus Cocceius Firmus, centurion of the second legion Augusta, to as many as twelve different deities. Comment has been made, more than once, on the catholicity of his religion, and on the exceptionally large number of gods and goddesses that he thought fit to honour; and it was with this aspect of the Auchendavy altars in mind that Stuart, in his *Caledonia Romana*,³ wrote: "All things considered, the antiquary has reason to feel not a little grateful to Cocceius Firmus for the considerable addition which he has been the means of making to the Roman antiquities of Scotland." The point is one to which we must return presently, for it appears that just this combination of deities is capable of throwing considerable light on his previous career; but in

¹ Cf. Macdonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, 2nd ed., 1934, 287-8, 427-31.

² Cf. *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, 1875, p. 429.

³ 2nd ed., 1852, p. 331.

the first instance I desire to draw attention to another place where a centurion Cocceius Firmus is referred to.

I. *The Digest*. — In the forty-ninth book of Justinian's Digest of Roman Law, chapter xv deals with *postliminium*, the restoration of legal rights to Roman citizens who escaped from captivity among enemies; the sixth section is an extract from the first book *Ex variis lectionibus* of Sextus Pomponius, the eminent jurist of the second century, who began writing as early as Hadrian's time, though his *floruit* can be shown to fall under Marcus Aurelius.⁴ In it he quoted a specific case, as the Roman jurists often did: *Mulier in opus salinarum ob malefictum data et deinde a latrunculis exterarum gentis capta et iure commercii vendita ac redempta in causam suam reccidit. Cocceio autem Firmo centurioni pretium ex fisco reddendum est* — that is to say, "A woman condemned, for a crime, to hard labour in the salt-works, was subsequently captured by bandits of an alien race; in the course of lawful trade she was sold, and by repurchase returned to her original condition. The purchase-price had to be refunded from the Imperial Treasury to the centurion Cocceius Firmus." Before we consider the question of identification that at once suggests itself, it will be convenient if we dispose of the legal points involved, as we are enabled to do by other passages in the Digest.

I. *Dig. i, 18, 6, 8* (Ulpian): *qui universas provincias regunt, ius gladii habent et in metallum dandi potestas eis permissa est* — "Governors of whole provinces have the right to inflict sentence of death, and they are allowed the power of condemnation to the mines." *Provinciam regere* is not an uncommon expression; compare Tacitus, *Histories* IV 74, the speech of Petilius Cerialis to the Treveri and Lingones in A.D. 70, and the inscription of A.D. 225 from Greatchester on Hadrian's Wall, CIL VII 732. The distinction is between senatorial *legati Augusti pro praetore* and equestrian *praesides* on the one hand, in whom the powers of chief justice, governor-general and commander-in-chief were vested, and subordinate *legati* or *procuratores*, to whom under the governor the immediate charge over a division of a province, or some branch of the administration of it, might be entrusted; such subordinates were competent to deputise for the governor in the

⁴ PIR III, 1898, p. 74, P521, and the references there cited.

majority of his functions, but not in trying cases for which death or penal servitude might be inflicted.

2. *Dig. 48, 19, 8 (Ulpian): in ministerium metallicorum feminae in perpetuum vel ad tempus damnari solent. simili modo in salinas* — "It is usual to condemn women, whether for life or for a term, to wait upon the convicts in the mines, and similarly to the salt-works." The convicts were assigned work according to their capacity: the men to act as miners, the women to cook for them and the like.

3. *Ibidem: damnatus servus . . . eius remanet cuius fuit antequam damnaretur* — "A slave so condemned remains the property of the man who owned him before his condemnation." That is to say, on the completion of a term of hard labour, slaves were to be returned to their original owners; but the provision could not apply, for obvious reasons, in the case of a life sentence.

4. *Dig. 49, 15, 5 (Pomponius): in pace . . . si cum gente aliqua neque amicitiam neque hospitium neque foedus amicitiae causa factum habemus, hi hostes quidem non sunt, quod autem ex nostro ad eos pervenit illorum fit, et liber homo noster ab eis captus servus fit [et] eorum* — "In time of peace, a race with whom we have neither friendship nor hospitality nor treaty of friendship are not indeed enemies, but property of ours that reaches them becomes theirs, and a free citizen of ours, if captured by them, becomes their slave." Here the status of the *extera gens* is clearly defined: and we shall see that it has an important bearing on the scene of the kidnapping, that the *latrunculi* came from such a people. The status of *latrunculi*, as opposed to *hostes*, is defined in the next passage.

5. *Dig. 49, 15, 24 (Ulpian): hostes sunt, quibus bellum publice populus Romanus decrevit vel ipsi populo Romano: ceteri latrunculi vel praedones appellantur. et ideo qui a latronibus captus est, servus latronum non est . . . ab hostibus autem captus, ut puta a Germanis et Parthis, et servus est hostium et postliminio statum pristinum recuperat* — "Enemies are those on whom the Roman people has formally declared war, or who have themselves declared war on the Roman people; the rest are described as bandits or robbers. For that reason, a man captured by brigands is not their slave . . . but a man captured by enemies, for example by Germans or Parthians, is their slave, and can recover his original status

by the right of *postliminium*." Here external enemies are contrasted with bandits, who may be internal or, as in the case quoted by Pomponius that has prompted this inquiry, external.

From these passages it appears that the woman was a slave who, for some crime (of what kind we cannot say), had been condemned to a term of hard labour by the governor of the province in which she and her master were living; while at some salt-works, to which she had been sent to serve her sentence, she was abducted by bandits from across the frontier; by them she was sold, presumably to slave-dealers, and in due course her owner, the centurion Cocceius Firmus, had the good fortune to be able to buy her back. Finally, the Imperial Treasury was called upon, after litigation that brought the case to the notice of Pomponius and so preserved the story for us, to refund the purchase money to him. We must infer that the authorities of the salt-works were responsible for her safe custody, for the term of her sentence, and for returning her to her owner after it had expired; and that it was held to be through their negligence that she had left their custody, and Cocceius Firmus had been compelled to buy her back.

II. *The Question of Identity*. — To students of Roman prosopography it is well known that even the most plausible-looking identification, of two instances of the same names occurring in conjunction, as referring to one and the same man, must be treated with reserve; for in many cases, even though the names are not common ones, the difference in the walks of life in which the two instances occur is sufficient to preclude assumption of identity. It will be convenient to give some examples.

I. Four of the altars from Maryport are dedications to Jupiter Best and Greatest by a tribune of *cohors I Hispanorum*, Gaius Caballius Priscus; on three of them his *praenomen* is abbreviated in the usual way, C.,⁵ while on the fourth the less common abbreviation G. is employed.⁶ Now a man of the same names occurs on two inscriptions from Rome, with his *praenomen* abbreviated once in each way, as a private in the first praetorian cohort⁷; but before the third century (and both instances are unquestionably earlier than

⁵ VII 374-6.

⁶ EE VII 970.

⁷ VI 3888-9 = 32664-5.

that) promotion from the ranks of the praetorian guard did not lead to the tribunate of an auxiliary cohort, which stood on one side of the path, reaching up to the leading prefectures, open to *virī militares*: so that the two men could not have been identical, even if one of the inscriptions from Rome had not been the tombstone of that Caballius Priscus. In that case we may assume a family connection; the praetorian set up the other inscription to the memory of a dead comrade whose home was at Verona, and we may take it that he, and the tribune at Maryport as well, belonged to that place or its neighbourhood; but more than that we cannot assume.

2. More plausible, but equally untenable, is the identification proposed by Haverfield,⁸ between Lucius Tanicius Verus, prefect of an unnamed cohort, who set up an altar to Silvanus at Cadder,⁹ and a man of the same names (with the added particulars that his father's *praenomen* was likewise Lucius, his tribe the Voltinian, and his place of origin Vienna — that is to say, the modern Vienne, in Gallia Narbonensis) who, as centurion of the third legion Cyrenaica, paid several visits to the statue of Memnon at Karnak in A.D. 80 and the following years.¹⁰ The *nomen* is indeed excessively rare, as Haverfield observed, though we may add an instance of it that the faulty indexing of the *Année Épigraphique* caused him to miss — Lucius Tanicius Zosimus, who with his family set up an altar in Moesia to a local deity¹¹; but the two walks of life are incompatible with the assumption of identity. In the period before the equestrian military career was revised by Claudius, the prefecture of a cohort was not infrequently entrusted to a former centurion, or even to a veteran private¹²; and we

⁸ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* LII, 1917-18, 178-80.

⁹ VII 1124, with Haverfield's correction, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ ILS 8759b = III 34.

¹¹ AE 1908 no. 137 [now repeated in AE 1939 no. 247, less accurately].

¹² One instance of each type of promotion will suffice here. (1) ILS 2684 (near Praeneste): *Sex. Iulius S. f. Pol. Rufus, evocatus divi Augusti, praefectus I cohortis Corsorum et civitatum Barbariae in Sardinia*: this is a time-expired praetorian, given further employment as commander of a cohort. (2) ILS 9090 (*Aquileia*): *Q. Euvius Sex. f. Vol. Capreolus, domo Vienna, miles leg. IIII Scyt. ann. IIII, eques ann. X, cent. ann. XXI, praef. coh. II Thrac. in Germ. ann. V . . .*: this instance, of a centurion promoted to the same rank, is not directly dated, but the cohort has left no traces in Germany, and was presumably transferred to Britain at the time of the Claudian invasion. As

find the same system of promotion in force again in the third century,¹³ when fresh avenues of promotion were sought for tried soldiers. But in the intervening period there does not seem to be a single instance of that practice; in order to maintain the prestige of the cohort-prefecture, now a regular part of the equestrian military career, when there was no suitable equestrian prefect available, a cohort was placed under the charge of a centurion seconded for that purpose, with the title of *praepositus*.¹⁴ For that reason I do not think that we can retain Haverfield's identification, attractive though it seems at first sight; we must rather assume, as Mr John Clarke has suggested, that the prefect at Cadder was, for example, a grandson of the centurion in Egypt.¹⁵

3. Statilius Taurus, centurion of the second legion Traiana in Egypt, and acting commander of *cohors I Flavia Cilicum equitata*, in the time of Pius,¹⁶ cannot be equated with the Titus Statilius Taurus whose full equestrian military career, following on the common preliminary post of *praefectus fabrum*, is given on an inscription from Mainz¹⁷; and though a warning to prosopographers, Dessau notes that another man, with the same rare names, is recorded on an inscription from Salonae in Dalmatia (III 9052): he is shown to be different, for his tribe is *Tromentina*, not *Voltinia*.

¹³ For example, an inscription from Sirmium, dated A.D. 212 (III 3237): . . . *Aug. coh. I Camp. Vol. c. R. Antoniniana, cura agente P. Ael. Valerio trib(uno) ex vet(erano)* . . .

¹⁴ The practice is so well attested that references are hardly required here, but the Scottish examples, VII 1084 (from Cramond) and 1092 (from Rough Castle) may be noted, though the title is not specified on either inscription; cf. also Tacitus, *Agricola* 28, for a centurion acting as commander of the *cohors Usiporum*.

¹⁵ *The Roman Fort at Cadder*, 1933, pp. 3-4. It must be noted that one argument, advanced incidentally by Mr Clarke, has less weight than he would seem to give it: "Tanicius does not seem to have been a *primipilus* as we should rather have expected him to be before he obtained such a promotion." In the period when the commands of auxiliary regiments were still open to such men, cohorts were often entrusted, as we have seen, to men who had never reached the rank of *primus pilus*; *primipilares*, indeed, were commonly advanced to the command not of a cohort but of an *ala*: cf. Baehr, *De Centurionibus Legionariis*, Diss. Berlin, 1900, p. 11; the latest recorded instance seems to be ILS 2544, during the Jewish war in the closing years of Nero. *Primipilares*, as *equites Romani* by promotion, thus remained eligible for such posts slightly longer than ordinary centurions or veteran privates.

¹⁶ ILS 2615, from Syene.

¹⁷ XIII 6817.

there was no doubt some connection, we cannot say what the connection was between one or other of these men and the senatorial family, prominent in the first two centuries of the Empire, in which the names Titus Statilius Taurus recur time and again.¹⁸

Even where the ranks recorded are the same, or are compatible with a single career, it is essential to show identity of period, and if possible identity of place, in order to obtain probability for a proposed identification. In the case of the two Coccei Firmi, identity of period seems reasonably certain. The altars from Auchendavy cannot well be earlier than the advance under Lollius Urbicus,¹⁹ and if the current view as to the duration of the occupation inaugurated by that advance is correct, they will not be later than the early years of Commodus²⁰; and the case quoted by Pomponius must be contemporary with his active career (as an examination of the similar cases quoted in the Digest shows), which, as we have seen, extended well into the time of Marcus Aurelius. The identity of rank is not in question; but it remains to be seen whether we can establish identity of place. In order to do that, it will be necessary to return to the passage in the Digest, and consider where the salt-works were situated.

III. *The Situation of the Salt-Works.* — Two points seem sufficiently clear, in the light of the evidence discussed above. The salt-works were in a province beyond the frontier of which there were tribes owing no sort of allegiance to Rome; and they were near enough to the frontier to be exposed to chance raids by such tribes. There were few provinces in which the necessary conditions could be found in conjunction. We must leave out of account the whole of the eastern frontier of the Empire; beyond it were organised kingdoms, enemies in time of war often enough, in time of peace in treaty relationship with Rome. Along the southern frontier there were tribes ready enough to raid, but salt-works were not likely to be found on the edge of the deserts, when the coast provided such plentiful supplies; and where raiders came within reach of the coast, at Sala on the Atlantic coast of Mauretania Tingitana,²¹

¹⁸ Cf. PIR III, p. 266, T 619.

¹⁹ For the date of his governorship, cf. my note, "Eine neue Inschrift von Corstopitum", in *Germania* 20, 1936, pp. 21-5.

²⁰ Cf. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

²¹ Cf. the long and valuable inscription from Chellah, AE 1937 nos. 36, 38.

there was no opportunity to find a serving centurion, for the province was a procuratorial one, with no legionary garrison. Across the Rhine and Danube frontiers, the majority of tribes were in some sort of treaty relationship with Rome in this period²²; there were elaborate arrangements for the guarding of the frontier, though bandits could on occasions find their way through, and Commodus, as a well-known series of inscriptions tells us, had to take measures to stop them²³; and, though salt was certainly produced here and there, there do not seem to have been salt-works.²⁴ There are, indeed, only two provinces in which it seems that the necessary conditions might be found — Dacia and Britain. In each case the frontier system was in places less elaborate: the Dacian *limes* was not continuous,²⁵ and to the north of the Antonine Vallum there was a tract, corresponding approximately to the later Kingdom of Fife, bounded only by the road to Inchtuthil, whose chain of forts and signal-towers offered no such serious obstacle to raiders as the closely guarded Vallum. In each case there were restive tribesmen across the frontier, always liable to raid, but seldom causing enough trouble to warrant a campaign against them. But Dacia must be ruled out, even though there were salt-works there²⁶; for in that province, as we learn from two or three inscriptions,²⁷ the salt was not worked directly by the State. Instead, it was worked by private contractors who, we must suppose, would hire free labourers or employ slaves; we can hardly entertain the notion that a convict, for whose return to her original owner the State was responsible, would be placed at the disposal of a contractor for the term of her sentence. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the story belongs to the early

²² Cf. Klose, *Roms Klientel-Randstaaten am Rhein und an der Donau*, 1934.

²³ ILS 8913, 395 and several other instances.

²⁴ The working of salt in the Roman period seems to have left fewer traces than that of pre-Roman times; for the Rhineland, cf. Schumacher, *Siedelungs- und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande von der Urzeit bis in das Mittelalter II (Die römische Periode)*, 1923, pp. 258-9. Blümner's article in RE IA, 2075-99, is of little help.

²⁵ Cf. Fabricius, art. *Limes* in RE XIII 641-5.

²⁶ RE IA 1902 gives full references for the Dacian place *Salinae*, twelve miles from Potaissa, by the salt-works of Maros-Ujvar.

²⁷ III 1209 = ILS 7147 (Apulum), 1363 (Veczel); AE 1930 no. 10 (Domnesti); Rostowzew, *Geschichte der Staatspacht*, 1902, pp. 411-4, generalises from the evidence of the first two of these, but it seems questionable whether he is justified in doing so.

annals of Britain, where we have no evidence for the working of salt by contract, and where we have a centurion of the same names recorded; and with the conjunction of time, rank and place we will be justified in identifying Cocceius Firmus of the Digest with Marcus Cocceius Firmus of Auchendavy. But before we return to consider him once more, it will be desirable to pay some attention to the particular situation of the salt-works.

The geographer Ptolemy gives *Salinae*, "Salt-works", as a place in the land of the British tribe of the Catuvellauni — if we can trust the accuracy of the recorded position, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Boston in Lincolnshire²⁸; and the same not uncommon place-name occurs twice in the Ravenna List, first following Corinium (Cirencester), and again between Derventio and Condate, applied to places that we may identify as Droitwich in Worcestershire and Northwich or somewhere thereabouts in Cheshire²⁹; but these places are all too far away from the northern frontier, and bandits of an alien race, to come into question. We must look farther north, and for salt-works of a different kind.

The production of salt by evaporation from sea-water, no less than by mining, was well known to the Romans; the process is described in some detail by the elder Pliny, in the thirty-first book of his *Natural History*,³⁰ from which extracts may be quoted in Philemon Holland's version³¹: "As touching salt artificiall, made by mans hand, there be many kinds thereof. Our common salt, and whereof we have greatest store, is wrought in this manner: First they let into their pits a quantitie of sea-water, suffering fresh water to run into it by certaine gutters, for to bee mingled therewith for to helpe it to congeale, wherto a good shower of raine availeth very much, but above all the Sunne shining thereupon, for otherwise it will never drie and harden . . . In Fraunce and Germanie the manner is when they would make salt, to cast sea-water into the fire as the wood burneth . . . But those verely of France and Germanie be of opinion; that it skilleth much what wood it is that serveth to the making of such fire. Oke they

²⁸ So Haverfield in RE IA 1902.

²⁹ *Geogr. Rav.* 427, 429.

³⁰ *Nat. Hist.* 31, 73, 92.

³¹ *The Historie of the World, commonly called the Naturall Historie of C. Plinius Secundus*, London, 1601: *The second Tome*, pp. 414-7.

hold the best, as being a fewell, the simple ashes whereof mixed with nothing else, may goe for salt. And yet in some places they esteeme Hazell wood meeter for this purpose. Now when the said wood is on fire and burning, they poure salt liquor among, whereby not only the ashes but the very coales also will turne to bee salt . . . There is no salt but raine water will make it sweet & fresh. The more pleasant it will bee and delicat to the tast, in case the deaw fall there-upon: but North-east winds engender most plentie thereof." In the light of this account, we may picture the conditions that guided a choice of a site for coastal salt-works; there must be a plentiful supply of fresh water (though in Crete "the salt is made in the like pits, but of sea-water onely, without letting in any fresh water at all"), as well as suitable wood for the fires, at least in the northern districts where that method was practised; and a place exposed to north-east winds could be accounted particularly well suited. Such conditions clearly obtained on the Fifeshire coast, where indeed salt is still produced to-day, I believe; and though there have not been traces noted of Roman workings, that is not to say that none existed. So far as I am aware, none have been sought for; and indeed, the tract north of the Vallum and east of the road to Inchtuthil seems to have received less attention from the students of Roman Scotland than its interest warrants. That road can only be explained, as far as the Antonine occupation is concerned, as a frontier enclosing the Fifeshire peninsula within the province; and it seems desirable to direct attention to the point, in the hope that an answer may be found to the question, for what reason it was considered desirable for it to be included. The Romans worked mineral coal in the region of Hadrian's Wall, but it was never important enough to warrant the occupation of the Fifeshire coalfield. But we cannot pursue that subject further now.

To sum up: conditions on the Fifeshire coast were eminently suitable for the production of salt; and in Fifeshire alone were bandits from across the frontier likely, without serious difficulty, to be able to raid salt-works and get away in safety, back across the frontier again. And if the salt-works were indeed there, we may suppose that the slave-woman's crime was committed while her master was at Auchendavy; that will explain why she was sent to serve her sentence there, rather than in the Mendip lead-mines or some place nearer to the second legion's headquarters at Caerleon.

IV. *The Dedications at Auchendavy.* — Let us now return to the Auchendavy altars, and see whether they are capable of throwing further light on their dedicator. The list of deities is a striking one, not merely for the large number, but for the variety of gods and goddesses that are mentioned. Taking the altars in the order in which they appear in the *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions*, the first³² is in honour of Jupiter Best and Greatest, the special patron of the Emperor, the Empire as a whole and the army in particular³³; and coupled with him is "Victorious Victory" (a pleonasm that reminds us of the "Military Mars" of a couple of altars from Maryport³⁴), a description of that goddess that is almost without a parallel. The next altar³⁵ seems at first sight to be dedicated to two other proper Roman deities, Diana and Apollo; but, as Domaszewski has shown,³⁶ when they occur in this order these are really the chief deities of Thrace and the neighbouring provinces, cloaked in the guise of their nearest Roman counterparts. The third altar, to the Genius of the Land of Britain,³⁷ is an example of the customary tribute that piety paid to the presiding divinity of the place or sphere in which one's lot was cast³⁸; we will return to it later; and the fourth is the most comprehensive of the lot, set up in honour of Mars and Minerva, the Campestres, Hercules, Epona, and Victory — the latter this time appearing without any special title.³⁹ Mars and Minerva are familiar figures in the Roman Pantheon; the former was worshipped throughout the army, as was only natural,⁴⁰ whilst the latter found special favour amongst those grades which were open in particular to men of some education⁴¹; and Victory was naturally the object of universal worship in the Roman army, which obtained it so frequently. But the other deities are in a rather different category. It was not until the closing years of the second century that

³² VII 1111.

³³ Cf. Domaszewski, *Die Religion des r. Heeres*, 1895, p. 22 f.

³⁴ VII 390-1; [for the same Mars in Germany cf. XIII 5234, 6574, 8019, 11819 and XVII. *Ber. d. R.-G.K.* 200 (coupled with *Victoria Victrix*).]

³⁵ VII 1112.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

³⁷ VII 1113.

³⁸ Cf. especially Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

³⁹ VII 1114.

⁴⁰ Domaszewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 33 f.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 29; Vegetius, *Epit. rei milit.* 2, 20, etc.

Hercules became the object of general worship in the army, and then it was because of his equation with the German Donar, as has been demonstrated by Domaszewski,⁴² and the increasing prominence of Germans in the military service. Before that time there is only one quarter in which he is to be found regularly — on the dedications of the *equites singulares* in Rome, to which we must turn presently. Epona and the Campestres are in a special category, as the patrons of mounted men. Epona was the goddess of horses; she, too, was widely worshipped, particularly by Celts. Indeed, it has been suggested that she was Celtic in origin,⁴³ but her cult spread widely throughout the Empire — for example, we meet it in Thessaly, in Apuleius's novel *The Golden Ass*⁴⁴ — and it seems safest to leave the question of her origin open⁴⁵; she was worshipped by muleteers and ostlers as well as by cavalry-troopers or even legionaries. In contrast to her the Campestres had a strictly limited sphere of influence: we meet with them only on altars set up by mounted men of the auxiliary arm, in cavalry regiments or in the many infantry regiments that included a proportion of horse; they were the deities who presided over the parade-ground or riding-school where, often enough, a temple was set up in their honour, as by the *ala I Asturum* at Benwell, on Hadrian's Wall, in A.D. 238.⁴⁶ They were Gallic in origin — like the drill-words to which Arrian refers,⁴⁷ an indication that the auxiliary cavalry of the Empire was mainly raised, at first, in Gaul⁴⁸ — but there do not seem to be any dedications to them by civilians even in Gaul. The last of the altars, on which the dedicatory name is not preserved, is to Silvanus⁴⁹: that rustic Roman god who achieved widespread popularity in many parts of the Empire — in Britain, for example, he is equated with the war-god of North Cumberland, Cocidius⁵⁰ — but above

⁴² *Op. cit.*, pp. 7, 46, etc.

⁴³ So Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 429.

⁴⁴ 3, 27.

⁴⁵ For a full discussion, cf. Keune, art. *Epona*, in RE VI 228-43.

⁴⁶ VII 510; Domaszewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-1.

⁴⁷ *Tactica*, 33.

⁴⁸ Cheesman, *Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, 1914, pp. 64-5.

⁴⁹ VII 1115.

⁵⁰ VII 642; a recently discovered altar to Cocidius, from Risingham, shows him with bow and hunting-dog [cf. AA4 XIV, 1935, 103-9].

all in Illyricum: there, as Domaszewski showed, his name was given to a native deity, and it is from the Danube lands that three-quarters of the dedications to Silvanus come.⁵¹ To sum up: the list includes a number of genuine Roman deities, though not so many as one might think at first sight; but there are others which seem to suggest a connection with the auxiliary cavalry, or with the provinces along the Danube.

"The cult of such an array of gods and goddesses passes the limits of what we should look for, even from the most catholic-minded of private individuals" — such is Sir George Macdonald's comment, at the close of his illuminating discussion of the Auchendavy altars; and he suggests that they were intended as official dedications, by Cocceius Firmus acting on behalf of the auxiliary regiment or detachment of legionaries whom he may be supposed to have commanded at that fort.⁵² But it does not seem likely that on an official dedication the name of the body, on whose behalf the dedication was made, would be omitted; we must ascribe the selection of this group of deities to Cocceius Firmus, and see whether it has anything to tell us of the man.

Dedications to groups of deities are not uncommon, though the groups are seldom as large as this; and it is usually possible to discover the reason that prompted the dedicator to make his particular selection. Thus, Marcus Rubrius Zosimus of Ostia, the regimental doctor of *cohors IIII Aquitanorum* at Obernburg in Upper Germany, thanks Jupiter Best and Greatest, Apollo, Aesculapius, Salus and Fortuna for the health of the cohort's prefect, Lucius Petronius Florentinus⁵³; here we have the healing deities, whose co-operation was no less important than medical skill in effecting a cure. Again, Gaius Cornelius Peregrinus from Mauretania, tribune of a cohort at Maryport, dedicating to the Genius of the place, Fortune who leads men home, eternal Rome and good Destiny,⁵⁴ is plainly pining for a more congenial post. In the case of Cocceius Firmus, indeed, the list of deities is such a motley one that, at first sight, it might seem no more than evidence for syncretism, the unordered mixture of religious

⁵¹ Domaszewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-4 etc.; Klotz in RE IIIA 123.

⁵² *Op. cit.*, p. 431.

⁵³ ILS 2602 = XIII 6621 (cf. also 6620).

⁵⁴ VII 370.

ideas. But it can be paralleled, and indeed surpassed, in one quarter — among the *equites singulares* in Rome.

These were a regiment of cavalry of the guard, first established, it seems, by Domitian towards the close of the first century⁵⁵; in peace time they were stationed in the capital, where they had permanent barracks and they accompanied the emperor to the front in time of war. In relation to the auxiliary regiments of the frontier armies, they occupied the same privileged position as the praetorian guard did to the legions. But while the praetorian guard was recruited, until the time of Severus, by direct enlistment from a privileged portion of the citizen body, the *equites singulares* seem to have been kept up to strength by the transfer of picked men from the *alae* in the provinces,⁵⁶ as well (perhaps) as by the direct recruiting of likely men in the districts which supplied the *alae* with recruits. In consequence of this system, the *equites singulares* must at all times have contained a greater mixture of races and creeds than any single auxiliary regiment, mainly recruited either from the district in which it was first raised, or from the recruiting-grounds nearest to its place of garrison; and that will explain the great variety of gods and goddesses who found a place on dedications by the corps. By a happy chance, a long series of altars from its quarters in Rome are preserved; most of them were set up by groups of time-expired men, on the occasion of their discharge from the regiment, in the principates of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius; a few are due to individuals on a like occasion, or on the occasion of their promotion to the legionary centurionate — further advancement that we might well expect outstanding men in a *corps d'élite* to obtain. The list of deities varies somewhat; one or two are sometimes omitted, and they appear in varying order, but, as the accompanying comparative table shows, all the Auchendavy dedications with the exception of that to *Victoria Victrix* occur regularly on the altars of the *equites singulares*.⁵⁷ The parallelism is so striking that it does not seem reasonable to doubt that it is not due to chance. We must suppose that Cocceius Firmus, earlier in his career, had seen service with

⁵⁵ Cf. Liebenam in RE VI 312-21; the men discharged in 118 must have entered the army under Domitian (VI 31138), and it seems simplest to suppose that the regiment was formed by him, and retained by his successors, rather than that Trajan was its founder.

⁵⁶ Cf. Cheesman, *Auxilia*, pp. 80-1; RE VI 318.

⁵⁷ See note 58, p. 101.

COMPARATIVE TABLE⁵⁸

AUCHENDAVY		ROME				
VII		I.O.M.	128	132	133-136	137-141 ?
III1	I.O.M.	.	x	x	x	x
	Victoria Victrix	.	x	x	x	x
III2	Diana	.	—	x	x	x
	Apollo	.	x	x	x	x
III3	Genius ⁵⁹	.	x	x	x	x
III4	Mars	.	x	x	x	x
	Minerva	.	x	x	x	x
	Campestres	.	x	x	x	x
	Hercules	.	x	x	—	x
	Epona	.	—	x	x	x
	Victoria	.	x	x	x	x
III5	Silvanus	.	x	x	x	x

the *equites singulares*, and in their ranks had learnt to worship this distinctive array of deities.⁶⁰

There are a number of instances recorded of promotion to the legionary centurionate from that corps. Thus, Marcus Ulpius Martialis, on another of the altars from its quarters in Rome,⁶¹ dedicates to Jupiter Best and Greatest, Juno, Hercules and the Campestres, on the occasion of his advancement by Hadrian from the rank of decurion (troop commander — as the place shows, in the *equites singulares*) to that of centurion in the first legion Minervia, whose station was at Bonn, in Lower Germany; and there are other examples, that need not be quoted here, of such promotion. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to infer something of his earlier career from the altars that Cocceius Firmus set up at Auchendavy; we may suppose that, before he joined the second legion in Britain as a centurion, he had commanded a troop of the *equites singulares*. In that case we may carry the investigation further. His name shows that his father or grandfather

⁵⁸ Cf. VI Add., p. 3069, where there is a full comparative table of the inscriptions from Rome, that removes the need for references to particular inscriptions here; the last column in this table is based on the undated fragments, VI 31174-5, which are probably later than A.D. 141.

⁵⁹ In Rome, *Genius singularium Augusti* takes the place of the Auchendavy *Genius terrae Britannicae*.

⁶⁰ It may be conjectured that at least one other of his altars remains to be found at Auchendavy; for Juno, Fortuna, Felicitas, Salus and the Fates occur with equal regularity. The absence, from the Auchendavy series, of Mercury and the Sulevian Mothers may be due to another cause, as is suggested below.

⁶¹ ILS 2213 = VI 31158.

obtained the citizenship from the emperor Marcus Cocceius Nerva; from his service in the *equites singulares* we may assume that he himself came, not from Italy (in the second century still the home of the majority of centurions⁶²) or one of the fully romanised provinces, but from one of the frontier provinces which provided the regiment with its drafts. An examination of the inscriptions — for the most part, tombstones of members of the corps who died before the completion of their service, and were buried in the regimental cemetery in Rome — on which the provinces of origin are stated, shows that something like half of the men came from the Danube provinces; it is an even chance, therefore, that he came from that part of the Empire. But a consideration of the regimental deities that he retained, in his dedications at Auchendavy, will be seen to strengthen the probability considerably: for while Mercury and the Sulevian Mothers, typical Rhineland deities, have dropped out, Silvanus, Diana and Apollo (who, as we have seen, have Danubian connections) remain. It is on the Danube, then, and (if we take Diana and Apollo as our guides) on the Lower Danube that we must look for the home of Cocceius Firmus.

V. *The Inscription from Histria.* — For many years now Roumanian archaeologists have been engaged in excavation on the site of Histria, a town on the coast of the Black Sea, in the Dobruja, not far south of the mouth of the Danube; and among their discoveries has been a fine series of inscriptions. One of these⁶³ is an altar, dated to 13 June 169, set up to Jupiter Best and Greatest for the health of the Emperor (as the date shows, Marcus Aurelius) by *vet(eram) et c(ives) R(omani) et Bessi con(sistentes) vic(o) Q(uintionis)* — “ex-soldiers, Roman citizens, and Bessi (a Thracian tribe, a portion of which had long been settled in that part of Lower Moesia⁶⁴) living in Quintio’s ward.” Like the others in the series, this altar was set up under the care of two magistrates and a quaestor, and the quaestor’s name is Cocceius Firmus. Our previous consideration has pointed to the Lower Danube as the home of the Auchendavy centurion; the date is not unsuitable; and to the identities of place and time we may add, if not identity of rank, at least compatibility. For the term

⁶² Cf., however, pp. 104-124 below.

⁶³ AE 1924 no. 143.

⁶⁴ Cf. J.R.S. XVII, p. 97 f.

veterani includes ex-soldiers of all ranks up to and including the centurionate; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Cocceius Firmus who set up the altars at Auchendavy, and found his way into the pages of Pomponius, returned to his home in Lower Moesia on leaving the army, and there in his retirement played the honourable part in civil life that ex-soldiers so often played in the towns of the Roman Empire.

Our prosopographical study may claim at least a high degree of probability for its identification, as referring to one and the same man, of the three scattered records, each of a Cocceius Firmus; but the mere identification is not the main interest of the study. I would rather adopt something like Stuart's view-point, and emphasise the suggestiveness of those records, for the study of Scotland in the Roman period. If I am right, the salt-works to which the slave-woman was sent, and the bandits who captured and sold her, provide an appendix to Dr James Curle's discussion of the discoveries of Roman objects on native sites, and the intercourse between Roman and native on that distant and often unquiet frontier of Empire.⁶⁵ They give direct evidence of the trade in that perishable commodity, human beings; and they direct attention to the Roman occupation of the land to the east of the road to Inchtuthil, across the Antonine Vallum. As for Cocceius Firmus himself, the career that we have enucleated emphasises — what the Auchendavy altars have long emphasised — the extent to which the Empire moulded the most diverse elements into the same Roman form: the auxiliary soldier from Lower Moesia became a centurion in the second legion in Britain, and gave a place in his dedications alike to the *Genius* of that land, the gods of the Empire and the army, and his native deities.

⁶⁵ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* LXVI, 1931-32, pp. 277-397.

X

THE ORIGINS OF LEGIONARY CENTURIONS*

* *Laureae Aquincenses* II, 1941, 47-62 (written in 1939).

IN any study of the organisation of the Roman army, it is necessary to pay constant attention to Alfred von Domaszewski's epoch-making work *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, which analyses the relations of different ranks to one another, and solves once and for all many of the problems presented by that complicated subject; at the same time, it cannot be denied that at times a superficial judgment or an obiter dictum of Domaszewski's has misled some of his readers, coming in the course of time to be regarded as an established fact, for the correctness of which a mere reference to the *Rangordnung* is deemed adequate. An instance in point is the belief that Domaszewski has proved the bulk of the centurions in the legions to have seen prior service in the praetorian guard and to have been, until the time of Severus, preponderantly Italian.¹ As it happens, Domaszewski himself never paused to work the question out in detail, though he refers to it in two places in the *Rangordnung*. One of those places is where the student is most likely to search for the reference, namely in the section *Herkunft der Centuriones*, pp. 83-90, where some general observations are followed by a couple of lists of known origins, whose extensiveness gives a somewhat misleading appearance of confirming the accuracy of the generalisations, which may be summed up as follows: for the centurionate, even more than for the praetorian guard, Roman origin was the main qualification; the provincialisation of the legions had no real effect on the centurionate, whose members were still, in the second century, practically all Italians, or at least hailed from the older colonies, and were

¹ Cf., for example, Prof. H. van de Weerd and Dr P. Lambrechts in *Laureae Aquincenses* I, 1938, p. 238, referring to *Rangordnung*, p. 83 f.

therefore of Italian military stock; in the second century legionaries were occasionally promoted to the centurionate, but such men never reached the higher grades of that rank, let alone receiving promotion above it; the senior centurions in the legions were practically without exception former praetorians and of Italian origin from the time of Hadrian to that of Severus. Domaszewski's other generalisation comes earlier in the book, tucked away in the section devoted to the *Officium des Statthalters*, p. 30: as long as Italians served in the legions (and by that he means until the time of Trajan), legionary soldiers were regularly promoted to the centurionate. The thesis, then, which we have to examine is that until the time of Severus the bulk of the legionary centurions were Italians, while from Hadrian until Severus the senior centurions were almost all promoted praetorians. It is perhaps surprising that it should have been necessary for the question to be reconsidered at this date, or indeed that Domaszewski himself should ever have come to such a conclusion: for the recruiting of the centurionate had been the subject of a careful study, with very different results, which appeared eight years before the publication of the *Rangordnung*. I refer to a Berlin dissertation, which seems to have met with quite undeserved neglect: *De centurionibus legionariis quaestiones epigraphicae* by W. Baehr.

Dr Baehr, in the first part of that dissertation, examined a number of questions: the different ways of approach to the centurionate, the posts to which *primipilares* were subsequently promoted, and the status of centurions under Severus; he then proceeded to analyse the principles of recruiting for the legions in the four periods Augustus-Vespasian, Vespasian-Hadrian, Hadrian-Severus Alexander and Severus Alexander-Diocletian, in each period segregating the evidence relating to centurions in particular. This summary of his main heads will be sufficient to show that Baehr recognised the fundamental principle of which there is no inkling in Domaszewski's study, namely that the bulk of the legionary centurions were always promoted legionaries, and their origins broadly the same as those of the soldiers in the same legions. That is the principle which I hope that the following survey will be sufficient to re-establish.

I must premise that my own collection of the material is not yet as complete as I could wish, though it is tolerably extensive;

I hope to be able to proceed further, before long, in a comprehensive study of the officers of the Roman army; but in the meantime I welcome the opportunity of putting out a preliminary study, as a modest tribute from the north of Britain to the School of Roman History whose excavators and teachers and writers have made Aquincum and Pannonia of outstanding interest and importance to all students of the Roman Empire.

It will be necessary to begin by defining the relative value of the different categories of evidence; in doing so, I cannot hope to avoid repeating many familiar truths, but it seems essential to leave no doubt as to the nature of the evidence, and the extent to which inference has been allowed to reinforce direct statements of fact. I will try to be sparing of platitudes.

I. *Single records*. — Most of the centurions known to us are mere names, recorded on the tombstones of private soldiers or on the "centurial stones" which marked the work of individual centuries; the century was mentioned for purposes of identification, and it so happened that it was customarily known by the name of its commander for the time being. It is not surprising that men of whom we know no more than their names and centurion's rank should be of relatively little value for an enquiry of this sort, except in cases where the *nomen* is obviously not Italian but provincial, or the *cognomen* points unmistakably to an un-Roman origin; for even if both names are respectable Italian ones, that need not signify that the men who bore them had ever seen Italy, let alone sprung from an Italian family. The Roman system of granting citizenship involved the spread of good Roman nomenclature as well, and time and again we come across people indubitably of provincial origin whose names have nothing to show it; it will be sufficient to refer, in this connection, to the legionary lists in which each man's name is followed by his *origo*.² It follows, therefore, that in dealing with centurions recorded on inscriptions of this category one may not assume an Italian origin without special reasons; it is only non-Italians that we

² Cf., for example, some of the names in the Hadrianic list of *III Augusta*, VIII 18084: Aemilius Martialis, Apamea; Julius Proculus, Sidonia; C. Vibius Celer, Nicom(edia); L. Gellius Felix, Kar(thagine). In another walk of life, cf. the interesting list of names from Mytilene discussed by Cichorius in his *Römische Studien*, pp. 319-323; they show no signs of the Greek origin which Cichorius was able to demonstrate.

may expect to distinguish, apart from the bearers of rare names which only occur otherwise in the small towns of Etruria or lurking unobtrusively in the index of Wilhelm Schulze's *Lateinische Eigennamen*. Among the *nomina* which we must regard with particular suspicion are those derived from emperors — Julius, Claudius, Flavius, Cocceius, Ulpus, Aelius and Aurelius; other *nomina*, such as Aemilius, Antonius, Cornelius, Domitius, Pompeius and especially Valerius, are equally colourless and suggestive of recent citizenship, even though they do not necessarily imply it.

The dating of inscriptions in this category obviously presents some difficulty, unless there is further evidence: for example, the occurrence of centurial stones in a dateable work such as the curtain of Hadrian's Wall in the north of Britain, gives dating of welcome closeness; soldiers' tombstones may be assignable to the limited period of their legion's occupation of the place where the stones were found — witness the inscriptions of *II Adiutrix* at Chester in Britain, or of *I Adiutrix* at Mainz in Upper Germany, assignable to the Flavian period; and sometimes the form in which a soldier's names are set forth, or the style of decoration on his tombstone, will allow at least an approximate dating. But best of all are the dated lists of names, of which the finest is the well-known dedication of A.D. 162 by all the centurions of *III Augusta* at Lambaesis³; to this we may add the less complete list of centurions of *II Traiana* at Alexandria in A.D. 194,⁴ and the group of centurions of *X Fretensis* in Palestine in A.D. 150⁵; and it is permissible to take the centurial stones from Hadrian's Wall as a comparable group of centurions of the three British legions *circa* A.D. 122.

If we consider the names in this category, it soon becomes plain that they do not support Domaszewski's assumption of a preponderantly Italian centurionate. Granted that the obvious non-Italians on individual inscriptions might be taken (as Domaszewski took them) for rare exceptions to a general rule otherwise prevailing, the dated lists provide a reliable check, which in fact shows that that rule is untenable; and it is worth noting that the lists precisely cover the period from Hadrian to the accession of Severus when, according to Domaszewski,

³ VIII 18065, partly reproduced as ILS 2452.

⁴ III 6580, partly reproduced as ILS 2304.

⁵ Most conveniently accessible in XVI, Appendix, no. 13.

the predominance of Italian centurions was most marked. It will be as well for us to consider the lists themselves before proceeding further.

(i) *The centurial stones from Hadrian's Wall*: In most cases it is not possible to assign these stones to a particular legion, so that we must take the list as reflecting the situation in the three legions, of which *II Augusta* and *XX Valeria Victrix* had been stationed in Britain since the Claudian invasion of A.D. 43, while *VI Victrix* had only just arrived, with Hadrian himself, from Lower Germany. I shall be analysing the list at some length elsewhere, so that I need not give detailed references here.

In this group, apart from an Aelius Aelianus⁶ whose citizenship is obviously not derived from a grant by Hadrian, the most recent representative of imperial *nomina* is Cocceius Regulus⁷; then come three Flavii, Civis, Julianus and Noricus,⁸ followed by four Claudii, Avarus, Augustanus, Cleonicus (of whose eastern origin there can be no question) and Priscus.⁹ There are no less than twelve Julii, with the following *cognomina*: Candidus, Con . . . , Florentinus, Iuv(enalis?), Numisianus, Pri(scus?), Proculus, Rufus, Subsequens, Tertullianus, Valens and Vitalis¹⁰; and of the common non-imperial names, Antonius is represented by a Felix and a Rus(ticus?),¹¹ and Valerius by Cassianus, Fl(avus), Maximus, Verus and Vitalis.¹² There may well be Italians among the names in this list, but many of them are matched exactly by provincials; thus, another Antonius Felix, centurion successively in *III Augusta*, *X Gemina* and *I Italica*, came from Carthage¹³; Julii with the *cognomina* Priscus, Proculus, Rufus, Valens and Vitalis, abound, in great variety of recorded provincial *origines*; in other words, the list shows us that as early as the early years of Hadrian there were plenty of centurions serving with the legions in Britain whose fathers or grandfathers had been granted Roman citizenship. Other

⁶ VII 601.

⁷ EE VII 1075.

⁸ VII 604, 609, 779.

⁹ EE IV 686, EE VII 1069; VII 670, 856.

¹⁰ VII 667; EE III 200, EE IX 1387; VII 526, 502, 502g; EE IX 1169; VII 530, 899a, 850; EE VII 1059; VII 918.

¹¹ VII 1353, 1354.

¹² VII 789; J.R.S. XXVII, p. 248; VII 685, 738, 502e.

¹³ III 6185.

names may be added; for example, I have shown elsewhere that *Lousius Suavis* must be of Gaulish origin,¹⁴ and Statilius *Solon* is presumably to be identified with the later *primus pilus* of *I Adiutrix*, who used Greek as well as Latin on the tombstone which he set up in memory of an *alumnus* at Brigetio¹⁵ — thus confirming the un-Roman origin which his *cognomen* proclaims. Against these names, there are very few for whose bearers we can claim Italian origin with any confidence: Caledonius Secundus, Delluius, Socellius and Vesuvius Rufus may be mentioned as instances.¹⁶

(ii) *X Fretensis* in A.D. 150¹⁷: We owe the knowledge of several centurions in this legion to the discovery of a papyrus recording the petition of twenty-two veterans, whose centuries are noted after their signatures; in some cases men from the same century occur, so that the total of centurions is only sixteen, while the condition of the papyrus has prevented the *nomina* of three from being deciphered; we are left with the following thirteen:—

- Aelius Artorius.
- Aemilianus Rufus.
- Claudius Macedo.
- Claudius Marcellus.
- 5. Flavius Longinus.
- Julianus Aeternalis.
- Julius Sabinus.
- Marius Germanus.
- Numistrionius Severus.
- 10. Petronius Firmus.
- Plotius Celer.
- Pontienus Magnus p.p.
- Veruius Rufus.

The list is a striking one. Pontienus Magnus and Numistrionius Severus have good Italian *nomina* of sufficient rarity for their spread into the provinces to seem unlikely¹⁸; Veruius Rufus too, as I have suggested elsewhere,¹⁹ may well be Italian, if he is to be identified with the Vesuvius or Vesuius Rufus of Hadrian's Wall nearly thirty years previously — not an impossible identification, in view of the long service

¹⁴ AA4 XVI, 1939, p. 235.

¹⁵ VII 568, III 11034.

¹⁶ AA4 XVI, p. 236.

¹⁷ XVI, Appendix, no. 13.

¹⁸ LE 212, 164.

¹⁹ AA4 XVI, p. 235.

frequently attested in the records of centurions' careers. But Aelius Artorius, the Claudii Macedo and Marcellus, Flavius Longinus and Julius Sabinus²⁰ are suspect; so are Julianus Aeternalis and Aemilianus Rufus, who like several of the Egyptian veterans have not been provided with proper *nomina*. Marius Germanus, Petronius Firmus and Plotius Celer are non-committal, though they may well be Italian: a certain L. Marius Germanus was junior patron of Ostia in A.D. 152,²¹ and a C. Petronius Firmus erected a tombstone in Turin to the memory of a former praetorian whose last post was that of centurion in *IV Flavia* in Upper Moesia.²²

Incidentally, if Cagnat was correct in regarding the fragmentary text of the same year from Lambaesis, EE VII 397, as a list of centurions,²³ it may be noted that it includes two Ulpia and a Pompeius.

(iii) *III Augusta* in A.D. 162²⁴: The dedication from Lambaesis, the only complete muster-roll of the centurions in a legion, includes a remarkable series of names. There are seven Aelii: 'Amandus,'²⁵ Ianuarius, Isidorus, Lepidinus, Li . . . bus, Magio and Menecratanus²⁶; five Antonii: . . . c . . . ius, Clemens, Moderatus, Nereus and Valens; two Aurelii: Geminus and Gentilis; two Claudii: Bassus and Promptus; five Julii: Acceptus, Africanus, Julianus, Provincialis and Urbanus; with Flavius Juvenalis, Valerius Titianus and Ulpus Emeritus (presumably the son of a veteran auxiliary granted citizenship by Trajan), we get a total of twenty-four men whose Italian origin is at once suspect. Their *cognomina* allow us to add Cordius Asclepiodorus, Licinius Emeritus and Sulpicius Olympinus, bringing the total to twenty-seven; and even among the remaining thirty-six there may be many of African origin, such as there is reason to suspect in the case

²⁰ Attested as *princeps* of this legion, III 14155¹⁵ = 6638.

²¹ ILS 6174.

²² ILS 2086.

²³ [Now VIII 18273 (more probably *tribb. mil.*)]

²⁴ VIII 18065.

²⁵ It may be worth noting that a P. Aelius Amandus was discharged from the *equites singulares*, on the completion of his service, four years previously (ILS 2184); the analogy of other careers suggests the possibility that this may be the same man, appointed to the legionary centurionate.

²⁶ If it is the same man as the 7 *leg. hon. mis.* of AE 1911 no. 97, he hailed from Maionia in Lydia.

of Faltonius²⁷ Januarius, or Celtic, as with Buccius²⁸ Montanus or Menonius²⁹ Varro.

Against these the number of certain or probable Italians is not very great. Satrius Crescens, one of the *primi pili*, is shown by another inscription from the same place³⁰ to hail from Rome; he had been *trecenarius* of the praetorian guard, and may well be identified with the Satrius who was centurion in the first praetorian cohort in A.D. 150.³¹ The other *primus pilus*, *Gigennaus* Valens, may well be from Etruria,³² and their *nomina* suggest an Italian origin for Aetrilius Furenianus,³³ Aetrius³⁴ Rufinus, Patius³⁵ Firmus and Thoranius Potitus.³⁶ But the list, taken as a whole, emphatically does not support Domaszewski's assumption of Italian and praetorian preponderance in the legionary centurionate.

(iv) *II Traiana* in A.D. 194³⁷: On this list the names of nineteen centurions are preserved in whole or in part, but there are only nine for whom both *nomen* and *cognomen* can be given:—

- Aelius Liberalis.
- Aemilius Ammonius.
- Aurelius Antigonus.
- Aurelius Flavianus.
- 5. Baebius Marcellinus.
- Flavius Philippianus.
- Marius Fuscianus.
- Octavius Avellianus.
- Servilius Pudens.

Of these, Aelius Liberalis,³⁸ Aemilius Ammonius, the Aurelii Antigonus and Flavianus, and Flavius Philippianus, fall in the suspect category; Octavius Avellianus may be an Italian — his *cognomen* seems to be derived from an uncommon

²⁷ For Faltonii at Thuburbo Maius cf. Pallu de Lessert, *Fastes I*, p. 515.

²⁸ LE 134; Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, sub voce.

²⁹ LE 361, cf. Holder 2, p. 543.

³⁰ ILS 9188.

³¹ ILS 2097.

³² LE 273.

³³ LE 217, 267.

³⁴ LE 267.

³⁵ LE 86.

³⁶ LE 98.

³⁷ III 6580.

³⁸ Perhaps a son or grandson of P. Aelius Aug. lib. Liberalis, ILS 1534.

Paelignian *nomen*³⁰; Baebius Marcellinus, Marius Fuscianus and Servilius Pudens are indeterminate. With this list we come to the beginning of Severus's reign, when in Domaszewski's view the predominance of provincial centurions began; but the foregoing lists suggest that it was no new phenomenon.

II. *Recorded origins.* — So far we have been considering cases in which the *origo* can only be determined or inferred by consideration of names; the second category is more informative. In it I include all the inscriptions (whether tombstones or set up in honour of, or by, men still living) which give the *origo* of a centurion, or allow it to be inferred (for example, through the tribe being that of the place in which the inscription was set up), but only mention a single appointment, or appointments in the same rank. Here, too, the most useful instances are those which are exactly dated, or dateable to a limited period; for they allow us to check the time-schedule which is an essential part of Domaszewski's view. It is not necessary for me to give an exhaustive list; it will be sufficient to give a selection of the material.

(i) *II Traiana*: 1. C. Maenius Haniochus, *Corinthis*, A.D. 127 (ILS 8759e: previously centurion in *XI Claudia* and *I Italica*). 2. P. Blaesus Felix of Saldae in Mauretania Caesariensis, under Pius (ILS 1400: honouring a kinsman, whose tribe *Arpensis* is that of Saldae; Hadrian is referred to as *divus*). 3. M. Valerius M. f. Gal. Secundus (AE 1930 no. 151: other centurionates in *VII Gemina*, *III Augusta* and *XIII Gemina*; by his tribe he is presumably a native of Tarraco, whence the inscription comes; he is mentioned on an inscription from Emerita, AE 1905 no. 25, assignable to *circa* A.D. 155).

Among the names of the previous category, it will be convenient to add here P. Aelius Amyntianus, A.D. 170 (ILS 2287), Valerius Cordus, A.D. 162 (III 14147⁴), and Valerius Maximus, A.D. 174 (III 12048); against these, the following category has only three Italians to add: Sex. Aetorius Ferox from Tuficum in Umbria, promoted under Pius from *cornicularius praefecti vigilum* (ILS 2666); C. Nummius Constans from Campania, *primus pilus*, and formerly successively *evocatus Augusti* and centurion in *III Cyrenaica* and *VII Claudia*, under Hadrian (ILS 2083); and C. Oppius Bassus from Auximum, formerly *evocatus Aug.* and centurion in *IIII Flavia*, under Pius (ILS 2084-5).

³⁰ LE 427.

T. Flavius Pomponianus, who served the last of his five centurionates in this legion, must have been a native of Saloniae, where the other centurions of *II Traiana* erected a memorial to him (III 2029); the stone is undated, but there is nothing suggestive of a date outside the second century. Another undated inscription, likewise best assigned to the second century, allows us to add a fourth representative of Italy and the praetorian guard in M. Titius Barbius Titianus of Emona (III 3846, belonging to the following category).

(ii) *IX Hispana*: The legion ceased to exist early in Hadrian's reign,⁴⁰ so that its centurions provide evidence for the composition of the legionary centurionate in the days when, on Domaszewski's view, it was confined to Italians or men of Italian stock. The following belong to the present category: 1. — Blandius C. f. Vol. Latinus, shown by his tribe and the find-spot of the inscription, Geneva, to hail from Narbonensis (XII 2601: other centurionates in *I Italica*, *II Augusta* and *XX Valeria Victrix*). 2. T. Cassius T. f. Firmus, magistrate of Aquileia, of which he was presumably a native (V 906). 3. M. Cocceius M. f. Pol. Severus *primus pilus* (V 7159: found "in Piedmont", where the tribe is represented — the margin of time is in any case too short to allow the assumption that he, let alone his father, owed his citizenship to Nerva⁴¹). 4. — Julius C. f. . . . *primus pilus*, of Forum Julii in Narbonensis (XII 261). 5. L. Servaeus T. f. Sabinus from Pisidia (AE 1930 no. 109: other centurionates in *III Augusta* and *VI Victrix*; he set up a memorial to his father, a *primipilaris*, in the same region — AE 1903 no. 77). 6. An unknown, C. f. Volt., *primus pilus* (XI 3112: from Falerii, whose tribe was Horatia; the man may well have been a native of Narbonensis, like Blandius Latinus).

For completeness, I add particulars of the other centurions of this legion. In the previous category there are only three: Antonius Karus,⁴² Babudius Severus⁴³ and Hospes⁴⁴; of these, Babudius Severus has a good Italian name,⁴⁵ and the tomb-

⁴⁰ Cf., however, the discussion of the problem above, pp. 25-30.

⁴¹ I now think, however, that this career may well be later in date, and the man one who received the citizenship on enlistment in A.D. 96-98; cf. p. 26 f. above.

⁴² VI 3639.

⁴³ VII 184.

⁴⁴ EE IX IIII.

⁴⁵ LE 132.

stone on which he is mentioned may be assigned to the pre-Flavian period, since it comes from Lincoln, whence the legion was transferred to York in the early years of Vespasian's reign; Antonius Karus is suspect and *Hospes non-committal*.⁴⁶ Four names may be added from the following category, in which careers are set forth in detail: 1. Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Gal. Vitalis, *ex equite Romano*, centurion successively in *V. Mac.*, *I Ital.*, *I Min.*, *XX V.V.*, this legion, and *VII Claudia* under Trajan (ILS 2656: the inscription comes from Rome, but the tribe suggests Spanish origin, and the names non-Italian descent). 2. L. Decrius L. f. Ser. Longinus, *praefectus fabrum*, centurion in *II Aug.*, *VII Gem.* and *XXII Deiot.*, *primus pilus* of the latter, and finally *praefectus castrorum* of *IX Hisp.* (AE 1913 no. 215: the inscription comes from the neighbourhood of Naples, where the tribe Sergia is out of place; it is, however, the tribe of the Paeligni, and Wilhelm Schulze assigns a Paelignian origin to the *nomen*,⁴⁷ so that the man is certainly an Italian). 3. Q. Paesidius C. f. Aem. Macedo of Dyrrhacium, *primus pilus*, subsequently *praefectus castrorum* and then *trib. mil.* in *IV Scythica*, under Nero (AE 1923 no. 40: the tribe and the find-spot prove the *origo*). 4. L. Valerius L. f. Proculus, *miles* in *V Mac.*, then centurion in that legion, *I Ital.*, *XI Cl.*, *XX V.V.*, and *IX Hispana* (ILS 2666b: after his discharge he returned to Moesia, where his service in the ranks had been spent, so that he may fairly be assigned an *origo* in that province).

In the above analysis we have been able to assign origins, in some cases with certainty, in others with probability, to eleven centurions of *IX Hispana*; if we bear in mind the period which is in question, the result is all the more remarkable: only four — Babudius Severus, Cassius Firmus, Cocceius Severus and Decrius Longinus — come from Italy, and three of the four do not come from the area in Italy to which Augustus at first restricted recruiting for the praetorian guard. Narbonensis has three representatives, including two *primi pili*; one of the latter comes from the *vetus et inlustris Foroiuliensium colonia*,⁴⁸ but Blandius Latinus was the citizen of no colony, and it is in the pages of Holder⁴⁹ rather than

⁴⁶ So is Cassius Martialis, recently added by J.R.S. XL, 1950, 116, occurring on another tombstone from Lincoln.

⁴⁷ LE 102-3.

⁴⁸ Tacitus, *Agricola* 4.

⁴⁹ Holder, *sub voce*.

Schulze that the connections of his *nomen* must be traced, the remaining four men are widely spread, one coming from each of the provinces of Macedonia, Moesia, Pisidia and Hispania Tarraconensis. The only obvious representatives of families recently raised to the citizenship are Blandius Latinus, Claudius Vitalis and, presumably, Valerius Proclus; but the list is nevertheless strongly reminiscent of the second-century ones which we have discussed above.

(iii) *In Britain under the Antonines*: Only one *origo* is directly recorded, namely *Gal(eria) Gunia* (sic) on an inscription of A.D. 154 from Chester (VII 168); in the case of another centurion, M. Cocceius Firmus, I have shown elsewhere that he is likely to have come from Lower Moesia, reaching the legionary centurionate by way of the *equites singulares*.⁵⁰ We may add the other centurions attested by inscriptions from Scotland, and therefore assignable in all probability to the last sixty years of the second century: Antonius Aratus,⁵¹ Flavius Betto,⁵² Sta(tilius) Teles(phorus)⁵³ and Ulpius "Scarm"⁵⁴ — none of them, it is clear, eligible for consideration as Italians. M. Liburnius Fronto, centurion of *II Augusta*, who set up an inscription in honour of Pius at Benwell on Hadrian's Wall (CIL VII 506), has a *nomen* whose other bearers include Galatian legionaries serving in Egypt⁵⁵; and C. Octavius Q. f. Cor. Honoratus, commissioned *ex equite Romano* into the same legion by Pius, came from Africa (ILS 2655: thereafter centurion in *VII Cl.*, *XVI Fl.* and *X Gem.*). against these we have two Italians in Q. Albius Q. f. Hor. Felix of Falerii, promoted under Hadrian from *cornicularius praef. praet.* (XI 3108) and Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Po[l.] Fatalis, *Roma*, centurion in *II Aug.*, *XX Vic.*, *II Aug.*, *XI C. p. f.*, *XIV G. M. V.*, *XII Ful.* and *X Fr.* on an undated inscription, best assignable to the same period, from Palestine (*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities for Palestine* VII, 1938, p. 54 [now reproduced in *AE* 1939 no. 157]); it will be noticed that the latter man, though he came from Italy, had no connection with the praetorian guard.

⁵⁰ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* LXX, p. 377 (= p. 102 f. above).

⁵¹ VII 1100.

⁵² VII 1092, cf. Bang, *Die Germanen im römischen Dienst*, p. 84.

⁵³ VII 1089.

⁵⁴ VII 1084.

⁵⁵ Cf. *LE* 523.

I pass over the large assortment of inscriptions, many of them conveniently collected in Baehr's dissertation,⁵⁶ which attest the part played by the various provinces in supplying the centurionate with fresh members, and close my discussion of this category with a group of special interest.

(iv) *Pre-Flavian centurions*: Here I give a short list of centurions of provincial origin, many of whom reached or even passed the primipilate.⁵⁷

A. Syria (*Heliopolis*):

1. L. Antonius M. f. Fab. Naso (ILS 9199 cf. 253, Tacitus *Histories* I, 20: first recorded appointment as centurion of III *Cyrenaica*, ultimately procurator of Bithynia; his only praetorian service was as tribune).

2. L. Gerellanus Sex. f. Fab. Fronto (III 14387 g and h: first recorded appointment, *primus pilus* of *X Fret.*, later *praef. castr. leg. XII Fulm.*, under Nero; the tribune of Tacitus *Annals* 15, 69 is more likely to have been his brother, if it is true that praetorian tribunes did not, as a rule, proceed to the *praefectura castrorum*).

3. L. Valerius T. f. Fab. Celer, 7 *leg. X Fret.*, who set up one of the inscriptions in honour of no. 2, like whom he belongs to the tribe (Fabia) of Heliopolis.

4. C. Velius Salvi f. Rufus (ILS 9200: his first recorded appointment is as *primus pilus* of *XII Fulm.* under Vespasian, but his career must have begun in the pre-Flavian period; he subsequently reached procuratorial rank).

5. A man whose name is lost (ILS 9198: first recorded appointment, *p. p. leg. III Gallicae*; a reference to the *bellum Commagenicum* dates the inscription to the time of Vespasian or shortly after, but this career, too, must have begun before the death of Nero).

B. Pisidia:

6. P. Anicius P. f. Ser. Maximus of Antioch (ILS 2696: first recorded appointment, *p. p. leg. XII Fulm.*, as *praef. castr. leg. II Aug.* decorated by Claudius on his British campaign in A.D. 43; his tribe, and the erection of the inscription there in his honour, show that Antioch was his *origo*).

7. T. Servaeus Sabinus, *p. p.*, of Iconium (AE 1903 no.

⁵⁶ *De centurionibus legionariis*, p. 35 f.

⁵⁷ The list is an expansion of that given by Baehr, *op. cit.*, p. 28 f.

77: cf. p. 113 above; his son was centurion in three legions, including *IX Hispana*, so that he himself can hardly have become *primus pilus* much later than the time of Vespasian).

C. *Macedonia*:

8. Q. Paesidius C. f. Aem. Macedo of Dyrrhacium (AE 1923 no. 40: cf. p. 114 above).

D. *Dalmatia*:

9. L. Praecilius L. f. Clemens Julianus (III 8753 = 2028: appointments recorded, *p. p.* and *praef. castr. leg. V Mac.*, A.D. 36-43; the inscription was set up in his honour at Salonae, which was therefore presumably his place of origin).

E. *Narbonensis*:

10. Q. Etuvius Sex. f. Vol. Capreolus, *Vienna* (ILS 9090: successively *miles*, *eques* and centurion of *IV Scythica*, subsequently *praef. coh. II Thrac.* in Germany — undated, but hardly later than Claudius).⁵⁸

11. M. Julius M. f. Vol. Paternus, *Aquis Sextiis* (III 2035: *miles leg. VI Vic.*, centurion in *VIII Aug.*, *XIII G. M. V.* and *XI C. p. f.*; the inscription comes from Salonae, and so presumably belongs to the last years of the latter legion's period in Dalmatia).⁵⁹

12. Sex. Sammius Vol. Severus of Grenoble (ILS 2342: *aquilifer leg. I Germ.*, promoted centurion in A.D. 50).

F. *Baetica*:

13. C. Julius L. f. Ser. Scaena of Tucci (II 1681: *hastatus primus* of *leg. IIII*, sc. *Macedonica*).

It is worth noting that as many as eight of the above thirteen men reached the rank of *primus pilus*; in no case is service in the ranks or the centurionate of the praetorian guard recorded, though no. 1 and conceivably no. 2 saw service as tribunes in Rome, and no. 4 commanded the urban cohort stationed at Carthage.

III. *Recorded careers*. — In this third category come inscriptions which mention more than one rank. The value of these inscriptions varies according to the completeness of the careers which they set forth. In many cases it is far from complete: thus, of just over a hundred *primipilares* who

⁵⁸ Cf. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, *op. cit.*, p. 367 = p. 91 above.

⁵⁹ Cf. Ritterling in RE XII 1694.

received subsequent promotion (taking Domaszewski's collection of inscriptions in the *Rangordnung*, to which, admittedly, other instances might now be added), we have no information about the posts held before the primipilate in as many as sixty-four cases. Again, it often happens that the first recorded post is that of centurion, although there is good reason to infer prior service in the ranks of a legion. The residuum of cases in which the whole career is set forth in detail is surprisingly small; and its very smallness compels us to be cautious in drawing general conclusions from it.

For example, it is assumed by M. Durry in his recent monograph on the praetorian guard⁶⁰ that it was former praetorians who proceeded, after serving as *primi pili*, to the highest posts, and received the most rapid promotion in the procuratorial career. Yet of the twenty-nine men known to me who entered the *primi ordines* in the legions after service as centurions in the praetorian guard, only eleven were promoted beyond the rank of *primus pilus*. Of those eleven, two did not proceed beyond tribunates at Rome, seven ended their careers as prefects of legions, and we are left with only two who received further promotion: M. Vettius Valens, who became procurator of Lusitania under Nero (ILS 2648), and Cn. Marcius Rustius Rufinus, originally commissioned *ex equite Romano* under Marcus, who became *praefectus vigilum* under Severus (X 1127; IX 1582 = ILS 1343, 1583; AE 1928 no. 125; ILS 2155-6). Granted that there may have been men of similar antecedents included in the sixty-four whose prior service is not recorded, this is clearly far too slender a basis for a generalisation such as Durry's when he describes the career of Vettius Valens as a typical one.⁶¹

Another form of praetorian connection is provided by the men who were promoted to the legionary centurionate from the rank of *cornicularius* (before the completion of sixteen years' service) or after *evocatio* (on completion of that period); it might be expected, *a priori*, that members of the former group would proceed further, as having been selected for promotion earlier. What evidence is there for the subsequent careers of such men? I have noted eleven *cornicularii* who received promotion to the centurionate; of these, Ti. Claudius Firmus, under Pius, reached the rank of *primus pilus* (ILS 1325); so did P. Cleusius

⁶⁰ *Les cohortes prétoriennes*, 1938, p. 3.

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

Proculus of Verona (V Supp. Pais 1253) and, less certainly, the unknown of a Spanish inscription of the time of Severus Alexander (II 2664). Three only proceeded further still: Flavius Flavianus, under Diocletian, ended as *praeses* of Numidia (AE 1916 no. 18); L. Petronius Sabinus, under Marcus, became a procurator (ILS 2743); and an unknown became *praefectus vehiculorum* in the time of Philip (ILS 2773). As for former *evocati*, my list includes at present twenty-five of them, only nine of whom reached the rank of *primus pilus*. Of these nine, C. Caesius Silvester, under Trajan, ended as *praefectus castrorum* (XI 5696); L. Cominius Maximus was promoted to the command of *II Traiana*, after tribunates at Rome and a second primipilate, under Marcus (ILS 2742); M. Vettius Valens, whom we have met already in another connection, reached the procuratorship of Lusitania under Nero (ILS 2648); no others proceeded beyond the primipilate.

In other words, the reputed predominance of ex-paetorians resolves itself, after scrutiny of the material in this third category, into the following facts: out of twenty-nine paetorian centurions who became *primi ordines* or *primi pili*, eleven were promoted beyond the rank of *primus pilus* and two of those eleven entered the procuratorial career; and out of thirty-six paetorian other ranks who became legionary centurions, fifteen reached the rank of *primus pilus*, and six received further promotion. These statistics are sufficient to show that the paetorian had a good chance of promotion once he had been selected for the centurionate; but they are insufficient to support such sweeping assertions as have been made by Domaszewski or by Durry.

Another line of enquiry is suggested by the list of just over a hundred *primipilares* to which reference has already been made; I have not thought it worth while to add to the list, since its figures are so conveniently close to exact percentages. In tabular form, it gives the following results:—

1. No service prior to <i>p.p.</i> recorded	...	64
2. Prior service in legions only	...	20
3. Prior service in legions and the guard	...	2
4. Prior service in the guard only	...	12
5. Prior service insufficiently identifiable	...	3
		<hr/>
		101
		<hr/>

Leaving on one side the first and fifth groups, we find twenty out of thirty-four with prior service in the legions, twelve with praetorian service, and two with experience in both arms; bearing in mind the great numerical majority of the legions, it is clear that the praetorians were exceptionally favoured in promotion; but well over half the higher posts went to former legionaries.

The next selection of inscriptions to be examined consists of those on which the tenure of two or more centurionates in the legions is recorded; here I have added further inscriptions to those collected by Domaszewski, and I believe that my statistics are tolerably complete:—

No. of legions	Total no. of men known	Of these, no. with praetorian service	No. with only legionary service
2	20	1	19
3	18	3	15
4	11	1	10
5	8	0	8
6	5	1	4
7 or more	6	0	6
Total	68	6	62

In the foregoing table I include men who held two or more centurionates, but did not receive promotion to the rank of *primus pilus*; men who reached that rank have a different story to tell, the number being naturally considerably smaller:—

No. of legions, before promotion to <i>p.p.</i>	Total no. of men known	Of these, no. with praetorian service	No. with only legionary service
2	6	4	2
3	4	1	3
4	3	1	2
5	1	0	1
6	2	0	2
Total	16	6	10

Comparing the two tables, we see that of twelve former praetorians who served as centurions in two or more legions, half received promotion to the rank of *primus pilus*, as against only ten out of seventy-two non-praetorians. Here again, the total number of former praetorians is smaller than that of

former legionaries, but the better prospects of promotion which praetorians enjoyed are even more clearly discernible.

It might be objected that in our statistical enquiry we have gone astray in omitting to consider the dating of individual inscriptions; such an objection would be in place if the ex-legionaries had been mainly post-Severan, and the ex-praetorians mainly pre-Severan; but that is not the case. Seven out of twenty-nine former praetorians promoted to the *primi ordines* or higher posts belong to the third century; so do three of the eleven *cornicularii*; and of the former legionary centurions, a large proportion are definitely assignable to the first or second centuries — it will be sufficient here to refer to the group of provincial centurions which I have collected in a previous section of this paper.

IV. *Conclusions.* — Domaszewski's assumption of a predominantly praetorian and Italian centurionate is not borne out by an analysis of the inscriptions, whether we confine ourselves to examining the names of centurions, their origins or, when there is a record of them, their careers. At all periods we meet with provincials among the centurions, and the lists examined in the first category above suggest that there was a progressive increase, throughout the second century, in the proportion of men from families whose Roman citizenship was of recent acquisition. For example, the seven Aelii among the centurions of *III Augusta* in A.D. 162 invite a comparison with the discharge-list of the same legion, *VIII* 18085, which contains a large series of P. Aelii, shown by their recorded *origines* to be men granted citizenship under Hadrian to qualify them for legionary service; there can be little doubt that the seven centurions represent the pick of such recruits; and while the appearance of imperial *nomina* on the muster-roll of centurions was often due to the entry of the sons of veterans on a higher career than their fathers had enjoyed, it must often have been the result of former *peregrini* more than justifying their selection for legionary service. In other words, the case of the centurionate is not unlike that of equestrian military service, for which Domaszewski's theory of a radical change under Severus has long ago been discredited⁶²; its dilution with provincials increased gradually, over a long period of years.

There were certainly many cases of centuries in the legions

⁶² Cf. A. Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand*, 1927, pp. 442 f., 460 f.

being assigned to former praetorians, and the *primi ordines* being filled by men who had attracted favourable notice in the centurionates at Rome; and the statistics which have been set forth above emphasise that such men had a better chance of further promotion, in proportion to their total numbers, than promoted legionaries. But that may be explained in the light of circumstances, without recourse to the theory that the emperors before Severus were preoccupied with maintaining the predominance of the Italian stock. For it must be borne in mind that it was not merely strength of body or skill at arms that was required of a centurion, and essential for the higher posts to which centurions might be promoted; intelligence and a good education were at a higher premium at every successive rung of the ladder: for that reason, we should expect to find the major posts in the procuratorial career held by men who had been equestrians *ab initio* to a far greater extent than by those who had started in the centurionate: and though Durry thinks otherwise,⁶³ that is the situation revealed by an analysis of the careers of men in such posts.⁶⁴ As far as the centurionate is concerned, the need for attracting men with adequate qualifications for the higher ranks was met by offering special inducements. The likeliest candidates were commissioned as centurions directly; such were the centurions *ex equite Romano*,⁶⁵ or the men whose prior service as *praefecti fabrum*⁶⁶ might equally have been the prelude to an equestrian career; such was the ill-fated Metilius Crispus, for whom the good offices of the younger Pliny secured a commission.⁶⁷ The case of Metilius Crispus emphasises a point which we must not lose sight of in any consideration of Roman imperial organisation, namely the important part played by patronage. It is patronage which helps to explain the promotion of praetorians to the legionary centurionate; granted that the higher pay and shorter service in the Guard must from the first have attracted

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁶⁴ It would be out of place to discuss the question at length here; but a glance through the list of *praefecti* in the posts junior only to the praetorian prefecture will emphasise the preponderance of men whose original service had not been spent in the centurionate, let alone in the praetorian guard.

⁶⁵ IX 951; ILS 2656, 4664; VIII 15872, III 750; ILS 2655, 1332, 2654, 9192.

⁶⁶ ILS 2661; AE 1913 no. 215; ILS 6254.

⁶⁷ Pliny, *Ep.* 6, 25.

a better type of recruit, the fact of their service having been spent under the eye of the emperor and the praetorian prefects meant that they were more likely to be thought of, when there were vacant appointments to fill, than men serving with the legions. That consideration helps to explain the better proportionate showing of former praetorians among the men who reached and passed the rank of *primus pilus*; they were picked men — or they would not have been accepted for service in the guard; they had justified the picking — or they would not have been commissioned as centurions; small wonder that many of them proceeded further. But their success must not blind us to the fact that there were plenty of men who advanced just as far, without the advantage of service in the guard: representatives of the educated classes, commissioned direct to the centurionate, and common legionaries with the intelligence to make themselves fit for administrative posts as well as for soldiering.

In connection with the latter point, it will be worth adding a word on the significance of the tribunates held at Rome by men who had reached the rank of *primus pilus*. In the pre-Flavian period, I have only noted two instances of praetorian centurions receiving promotion to the legionary centurionate, namely M. Vettius Valens⁶⁸ and Alfenus Varus⁶⁹; but *primipilares* (with no prior praetorian connection that we know of) were frequently, and from the time of Claudius regularly, promoted to the round of tribunates in Rome.⁷⁰ Baehr is justifiably ironic⁷¹ in his commentary on the explanation advanced by J. Karbe,⁷² who "eius rei nullam aliam se invenire causam fatetur nisi ut illis post longam castrorum solitudinem urbis gaudia ac delicias tandem revisendi occasio daretur"; yet there is perhaps something in Karbe's explanation. At least, the period spent in Rome would give these professional soldiers an opportunity of acquiring knowledge and experience to fit them for the higher posts to which some of them were in due course promoted; and in such cases it seems better to suppose that the attachment of *primipilares* to

⁶⁸ ILS 2648.

⁶⁹ PIR², I, A 522.

⁷⁰ Baehr, *op. cit.*, p. 12; *Rangordnung*, p. 115.

⁷¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁷² *De centurionibus Romanorum quaestiones epigraphicae*, Diss. Halle, 1880, p. 24.

the Guard was intended to raise the military efficiency of the latter, rather than that the Guard was already looked on as the connecting link between the legions, and the fosterer of a common standard of efficiency. It needed the conflicts of the Year of the Four Emperors to show that the provincial armies and the Guard had too little sense of unity, and it may be suggested that it was the experience of that year which led to an increase in the number of centurions promoted to the legions from the ranks of the praetorians. But there is another explanation which deserves to be borne in mind as well.

Mommsen is commonly said to have enunciated the dictum that Vespasian excluded Italians from legionary service⁷³ (though a re-reading of his article will show that he never committed himself unequivocally to so sweeping an assertion); but Baehr rightly saw that the diminution of the Italian contingent in the legions was due to a more flattering change of policy, by which Italy was normally exempted from the incidence of the levy.⁷⁴ Italians still occur in the legions — not merely until the time of Trajan, as Domaszewski admitted,⁷⁵ but throughout the second century: witness the inscription from the Antonine Wall in Britain, set up by *cives Italici et Norici* serving in *VI Victrix*⁷⁶; but with voluntary recruiting the rule,⁷⁷ the better pay and better prospects of service in the praetorian cohorts must have meant that the pick of the recruits came to Rome, and only those who could not secure admission to the Guard went into the ranks of the legions. In an army whose official language was Latin, it is not to be wondered at that the pick of the Italian volunteers should have had a good share of the posts in the centurionate.

To sum up: candidates with sufficiently good qualifications were commissioned straight away as centurions; men of good education accepted for service in the guard came next in the running for promotion; but throughout the period from Augustus onwards legionary soldiers were eligible for promotion to the centurionate and above it, and the increase in the number of provincials in the legions was reflected in the increasing number of provincial centurions.

⁷³ Cf. *Gesammelte Schriften* VI, p. 36 f.

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁷⁵ *Rangordnung*, p. 30.

⁷⁶ VII 1095.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Digest* 49, 16, 4, 10.

XI

SOME ROMAN MILITARY INSCRIPTIONS*

* *Cumberland & Westmorland Transactions*, new series, LI,
1952, 67-72.

IN the following notes I discuss the history, the interpretation or both, of some Roman inscriptions found in our district many years ago, the significance of which has not been generally understood. My occasion for a fresh examination of the first of them has been the discovery and excavation of a temple of Mithras, a stone's throw from the Wall-fort at Carrawburgh in Northumberland; in it were three fine altars, each dedicated by a different prefect of *cohors I Batavorum*, the third-century garrison of *Procolitia*: while preparing a note on the prefects and their altars,¹ for incorporation in the report on the excavation,² I was led to survey the evidence, from other sites in the Wall area, for the worship of Mithras, and it soon became clear that the source of this particular altar required reconsideration. The second and third inscriptions are of interest, partly for the study of the Roman army as a whole, partly because of the circumstances of their original discovery, which throw some light on the structural history of Castlesteads fort (in one case) and of the Wall itself (in the other).

1. VII 831. This altar was first recorded, with other stones at Naworth, by an unknown correspondent of Camden's (cf. Haverfield in CW2 XI 376), who gave a tolerably complete reading of it; by Horsley's day, it was largely illegible (*Britannia Romana*, 1732, p. 255 and Cumberland XV), so that he may be pardoned for suspecting that it had been set up by a commander of *coh. I Aelia Dacorum* and that it came, like so many of the Naworth inscriptions, from Birdoswald. In due course it was moved to Rokeby, where Bruce examined it (*Lap. Sep.* 372) but was unable to make out much more of

¹ Reproduced at p. 172 f. below.

² AA4 XXIX, 1951, 1 f.

the text than Horsley had deciphered. But the reading provided by Camden's correspondent can be used as the basis for a perfectly satisfactory text: *deo Soli / invicto / M[ith]r[a]e, M[ar] / cus Liciniu[s] / Ripanus / prae[ectus] v[otum] s[oluit]* — "To the unconquered Sun-god Mithras, Marcus Licinius Ripanus, prefect, has fulfilled a vow." Traces of the first, fifth and last letters of *Mithrae* may be noted in the unknown's sketch as reproduced by Huebner, and the reading *Liciniu[s]* is confirmed by Haverfield, who examined the MS. (CW2 XI 376, footnote). The crux is the dedicator's rank; for *coh. I Aelia Dacorum* was regularly commanded by tribunes, though it could on occasions have a legionary centurion as its interim commander: a prefect would be wholly out of place at Birdoswald. It must therefore be asked whether there is any other fort from which the altar might have been brought to Naworth — and Castlesteads seems the obvious answer: as the crow flies, it is barely half as far from Naworth as Birdoswald, and Castlesteads has already produced two dedications to Mithras, one a mere fragment (VII 890), the other likewise dedicated by a prefect who does not mention his cohort (VII 889): [*deo*] *Soli [i]nvicto, Sex. Severius Salvator [pr]ae[ectus]. [v. s.] l. m.* — "To the unconquered Sun-God, Sextus Severius Salvator, prefect, has gladly and deservedly fulfilled a vow." Both prefects may be assigned with confidence to *coh. II Tungrorum*, the third-century garrison of Castlesteads, and both altars no doubt come from the same Mithraeum, though one of them seems to have been re-used in some later building: for VII 889 is recorded as having been dug up "in the ruins of an old stone-wall."³

2. VII 887 = ILS 4788 (Castlesteads). This altar was first published by Horsley (*op. cit.*, p. 262 and Cumberland XXXIV), who saw it "at the Cliff near Kirklington, the seat of the late Mr Appleby"; it had been moved thence to Netherby by 1772, when Pennant saw it there (*A Tour in Scotland &c.*, 2nd ed., 1776, p. 81), and from Netherby it came to Tullie House, Carlisle, where it still is (CW1 XV, 1899, 474 f.; *Tullie House Catalogue*, 1922, p. 13 no. 33).

³ Gibson's Camden, 1695 ed., p. 844, among the additional material for which acknowledgments are made, in the introduction, to Dr Hugh Todd, prebendary of Carlisle; it was then at Scaleby castle, but its attribution to Castlesteads (then known as Cambeck) is definite.

Horsley noted it as a recent find at the fort now known as Castlesteads, "dug up near the east⁴ entry of the station, and seemed to be in the south jamb of the gate with the face downward" — that is to say, it had been re-used as a flagstone in a Roman repair of the east gate. The reading of the text is clear, but in one place its interpretation calls for reconsideration: *M[at]ribus omnium gentium templum olim vetustate conlabsum G. Iul. Cupitianus (centurio) p. p. restituit*. It records the restoration of a temple to the Mothers of all peoples, which had previously fallen down through old age, by a centurion named Gaius Julius Cupitianus; the abbreviation *p. p.* which follows the centurial sign has previously been taken to mean *primus pilus* or *primipilaris*, making the dedicator either chief centurion or former chief centurion of a legion: but it was not the custom to use the centurial sign in conjunction with either title. We must therefore expand it as *praepositus*, making Cupitianus an ordinary centurion, no doubt seconded from one of the three legions in Britain to take interim charge of the cohort at Castlesteads; in style, the text best fits the first half of the third century, so that the unit in question was no doubt *coh. II Tungrorum* — and the repair at the east gate will have been effected under Diocletian at earliest. For the Mother Goddesses, Haverfield's paper in *Archæologia Aeliana*, 2nd ser., XV, 1892, 314-339, may still be consulted with profit; legionaries in particular worshipped them assiduously, often adding an epithet showing which countries the goddesses, and their worshippers, belonged to; in this case, the dedicator presumably had in mind the Mothers of all the peoples who had provided recruits for the Roman army in Britain.

3. VII 914 = ILS 4724. This altar was found in February 1804, between Tarraby and Stanwix, by some labourers "digging a drain across the foundation of the Roman wall", and it is recorded that "The ends of the altar rested on two stones, and the inscription was downwards, and a cavity below it."⁵ From this account it seems clear that the stone had been re-used as the cover for a culvert through the Wall, and the find-spot has no necessary bearing on its original

⁴ Not *west*, as given by Haverfield and Collingwood.

⁵ AA1 I, 1822, Appendix, p. 4; the first publication was in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1804, p. 471. The altar is now at Lowther Castle.

position. The reading of the text is clear, though its interpretation is not certain at one point, and its significance deserves a brief discussion: *Mart(i) Coc(idio) m(ilitis) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) 7 Sanctiana 7 Secundini d. sol. sub cura Aeliani 7, cura(vit) Oppius Felix optio*. It is a dedication to the North Cumbrian god Cocidius, here equated (as not infrequently) with Mars, by soldiers of the second legion, members of two different centuries of that legion and under the charge of a centurion from another century, and the erection of the altar has been superintended by an *optio*, the tactical second-in-command of a century. The uncertainty lies in the interpretation of *d. sol.*; Huebner, in EE III, p. 136, noted Buecheler's suggestion of *d(omo) Sol(venses)*, implying that the dedicators came from Solva in Noricum. That is not impossible; an altar from Castlecary on the Antonine Wall (VII 1095) records *cives Italici et Norici* serving in the sixth legion, showing that there were Norican legionaries in Britain in the second century (to which, on general grounds, the present altar seems best assignable); and we may compare an altar from Birrens in Dumfriesshire, set up by *c(ives) Raeti milit(antes) in coh. II Tungr.* (VII 1068), as a corporate dedication by men hailing from the same province. But if we accept that reading, the dedication is left without an operative verb, and I am inclined to think that we must expand the second word as *sol(verunt)* — "fulfilled (a vow)": the first word was perhaps *d(ono)* — "by gift (sc. of the altar)."

A second point for consideration is the difference in rendering of the centuries' names. It should be a commonplace that in most cases the centurial mark is followed by a name in the genitive, as here in the case of *7 Secundini* — "century of Secundinus." But on occasions we find, instead, an adjectival form, as here *7 Sanctiana*; its significance does not seem to be generally understood, and indeed I have nowhere found it noted: but a little consideration will show what it was. The clearest clue is provided by an inscription from Rome, where the adjectival form is used for a *turma* of the *equites singulares*⁶ (for this regiment, cf. my observations above, p. 100 f.): *d. m. T. Aurelio Mansuetino eq. sing. Aug. tur. Lucaniana, nat. Noricus, vix. an XXV, mil. annis VII, P. Aelius Lucanus 7 leg. VII G. her(es) fac(iendum) cur(avit)*. This is the tombstone of a man from Noricum who had served in

⁶ VI 3211.

the Emperor's cavalry regiment of the guard, set up by his heir, Publius Aelius Lucanus, centurion of *leg. VII Gemina*, the one legion of Hither Spain; and when we ask how a centurion of that legion came to be the heir of a trooper in the regiment at Rome, the designation of the man's troop, as *turma Lucaniana*, gives the show away: Lucanus had been his troop commander when the will was drawn up, but had been promoted centurion and posted to Spain before taking up his inheritance.⁷ The adjectival form, therefore, is used of a former commander — and, in normal circumstances, will only have been used for as long as a new commander remained to be appointed; in the present case, Sanctus was the last commander of the first century and Secundinus the present commander of the second, and a detachment drawn from both centuries was performing some task under a third centurion, Aelianus.⁸

Aelianus and his detachment were presumably engaged in a repair to the Wall, such as is attested by an inscription from Irthlington (EE IX 1217): *vexil(l)atio leg. II Aug. refecit*; it is precisely in a vexillation that we should expect to find men from different centuries grouped together under a single centurion.

⁷ VI 3176 = ILS 2199 is the tombstone of another member of the same troop, described as *turm. Aeli Lucani*; it belongs, therefore, to the period before the promotion of Lucanus to the centurionate.

⁸ This is not the only example of the adjectival form, applied to centuries, found on the Wall in Cumberland; there are also *l. II Aug. 7 Volusiana* from the Naworth collection (VII 841), *coh. IIII 7 Probian(a)* (VII 848) and *7 Hortensiana* (VII 859) from between Birdoswald fort and milecastle 50.

XII

AN EQUESTRIAN OFFICER'S TOMBSTONE*

* *Archæologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., XII, 1935, 200-203.

THIS inscription, now preserved in the parish church at Elsdon, was ploughed up in a wheat field, across the burn from the north-east corner of High Rochester fort, in the autumn of 1809¹; at the time of its discovery, "the letters at the head of it came off in flakes of decomposed stone, and left their impression distinctly on the clay", but there was no epigraphist in attendance to recover the reading of the first four lines, and the name and part of the career of the man whose tombstone it was remain obscure. From the fifth line onwards, however, the text can be restored with virtual certainty:—

[*praef(ecto)*] *coh(ortis) I Aug(ustae) [pr(aetoriae)] Lusitanor(um), item coh(ortis) II Breucor(um), subcur(atori) viae Flaminiae et aliment(or)um, subcur(atori) operum publ(icorum), Iulia Lucilla c(larissima) f(emina) marito b(ene) m(erenti); vix(it) an(nis) XLVIII m(ensibus) VI d[ie] b(us) XXV.*

Julia Lucilla, the daughter of a senator,² set up the tombstone to the memory of her husband, who died at the age of 48 years, 6 months and 25 days. The four recorded posts in his career are the prefectures of two cohorts, and two subcuratorships in Italy.

As Huebner pointed out, neither of the cohorts was stationed in Britain³; therefore the last appointment of all must have

¹ VII 1054; Hodgson, *History of Northumberland* II i 90, and *Northumberland (Beauties of England and Wales series)*, p. 153.

² It should be noted that she had no business to describe herself as *clarissima femina*; women, as Ulpian observed (*Digest* 1, 9, 8), took the same rank as their husbands, and a *clarissima* lost that rank on marriage to a man of lesser rank.

³ (1) *Coh. I Augusta praetoria Lusitanorum equitata* occurs in the diploma of A.D. 86 for Judaea; subsequently it was transferred to Egypt, where its presence is attested as early as 111 and as late as 288 (cf. Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine d'Égypte*, p. 92); in the *Notitia* it appears under the command of the duke of the Thebaid.

(2) *Coh. II Breucorum equitata* occurs in the diploma of 107 for Mauretania Caesariensis; it is recorded on inscriptions of 243, 270, and

been recorded before the other four. What that appointment was, is shown by Mr Collingwood's recent reading of the fourth line of the inscription: . . .]COH I V[A]RDVL[. . .⁴; the man was tribune of the first cohort of Vardulli, which came to High Rochester early in the third century, after service in a number of forts elsewhere in northern Britain in the previous century.⁵ This date is confirmed by the assumption of the clarissimate by his widow; it is only in the third century that such styles occur regularly on inscriptions, although they were already in common use as early as the time of Trajan, as Pliny's letters show.

There is another inscription from High Rochester, from which the *cognomen* at least of the dead man may be inferred; VII 1038 is a dedication to Silvanus Pantheus *pro salute Rufini trib. et Lucillae eius* — for the health of the tribune Rufinus and his wife Lucilla. It is reasonable to suppose that the latter is the same as the Julia Lucilla of VII 1054, and we therefore learn the name of her husband.

Rufinus, then, served in five successive appointments, of which the tribunate of the first cohort of Vardulli, recorded first on his tombstone, came last. The career is an interesting one, not merely as the only example of its kind recorded on a British inscription, but because of the occurrence in it of the two subcuratorships. These posts were held by equestrian civil servants, who presumably acted as permanent heads of the departments for which senatorial curators were responsible; there do not seem to be more than three other subcurators recorded:—

(1) A. Seius Zosimianus, *eq. R.*, was successively *præf. coh. III Brac., trib. leg. VII Cl., succu(rator) viae*, apparently in the first half of the third century. (VI 3536, Rome.)

(2) . . . Rufus, successively *præf. coh., subcurator of the via Aemilia, tribune in two legions, and then a procurator, in the time of Hadrian.* (X 7587 = ILS 1402, Carales.)

(3) P. Fulcinus Vergilius Marcellus, *præf. fabrum, trib. 282-3 in that province* (VIII 21560, 22598, 22599), and though there are no dated records for the period 107-243, the fact that its place of garrison was known in the second half of the third century as *Cohors Breucorum* shows that it had remained there for a long time: cf. *Legio VII Gemina* in Spain, and *Petriana* in Britain.

⁴ J.R.S. XVII, 1927, 219.

⁵ Cf. AA4 IX, 1932, 207.

mil. leg. VII Gem. felicitis, praef. equitum alae Parthor., subcurator aedium sacrarum et operum locorumque publicor. (this is presumably the full title of one of the posts held by Rufinus), *subpraef. class. praet. Misenensis* — probably in the second century. (EE IX 897 = ILS 9010, Tibur.)⁶

Of these, the second is most useful to us; for his career falls, as we shall see that that of Rufinus falls, into two distinct halves. After the prefecture of a cohort, he leaves the army (instead of proceeding in the usual way to the military tribunate) for the civil service, only to return to the army, where he serves as military tribune in two legions in succession, before returning to the civil service once more. The career recorded in the High Rochester inscription must have been of the same order; all analogies forbid us to assume that the civil appointments, as subcurator, were held before any military service; and we must take it that the order of posts is neither 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 nor 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 — but 5, 1, 2, 3, 4: Rufinus entered the imperial service as prefect of *coh. I Augusta praetoria Lusitanorum* in Egypt; from Egypt he was transferred to the command of *coh. II Breucorum* in Mauretania; and then he held two posts in the civil service in Italy, before he was sent as tribune of *coh. I Vardullorum* to the most northerly outpost of the Roman army, High Rochester, where he died and was buried.

Apart from the civil appointments that separate the two periods of military service, the career is not an unusual one; it was not only senatorial governors and the *equestris nobilitas* that moved from one end of the empire to another in the course of a lifetime's service: one has only to consider cases like that of Rufinus, in which the places of garrison of the auxiliary regiments mentioned are known, to see how frequently officers of the Roman army were transferred from province to province in the course of their active service. And the age at which he died is worth noting; it is time that the assumption that commanders of cohorts were regularly young men at the threshold of non-military careers⁷ should be abandoned.

⁶ The *adiutor curatoris alvei Tiberis et cloacarum* of XIV 172, Ostia, and the (*proc. Aug. ad ripam Tiberis*) of the Greek inscription IGR III 263 = ILS 8848, as equestrian subordinates of senatorial curators, were presumably in the same general category as the subcurators.

⁷ Cf., e.g., *Cambridge Ancient History* X, 1934, p. 231.

XIII

THE EQUESTRIAN OFFICERS OF THE ROMAN ARMY*

* *Durham University Journal*, December 1949, 8-19. This paper, in its first form, was read to the Oxford Philological Society in November 1947; some modifications in detail have been made, and references added to the main literary and epigraphic sources.

THE Roman army, whether in the closing years of the Republic or as reorganised by Augustus, Trajan and Hadrian, has excited the admiration of countless students of military affairs, from the time of Vegetius until the present day. Its high standard of training, its elaborate and successful basic organisation, its skill in tackling problems of fortification, logistics or tactics, have alike been found worthy of study even in recent years, when the advance of technical research has transformed the conditions of war and the appearance of a battlefield beyond recognition; for there are certain basic requirements which must be met in any army, if it is to be an efficient fighting machine, and most, if not all, of those requirements were in fact met by the Romans. But in one respect there seems to be a general assumption that the Romans fell below, and indeed fell far below, modern standards, namely in the selection and training of officers. It is a commonplace that the officers of the Roman army fall into three distinct groups: (a) *senatorial* generals or generals-to-be, (b) *equestrian* staff officers and battalion commanders and (c) centurions, its company commanders and junior staff officers. Of these groups, the centurions have come off best; they are generally credited with responsibility for the efficiency of the Roman army; but the senatorial and equestrian officers are usually dismissed as "almost amateur soldiers," to quote Mr G. H. Stevenson¹; and as for the equestrian officers in particular, the same writer adds that "the so-called *militia equestris*" was "held by young men who aspired to a career in the equestrian *cursus honorum*."

¹ *Cambridge Ancient History* X 226.

If Mr Stevenson is wrong, at least he is wrong in good company; Cheesman, dealing with a portion only of the equestrian officers,² calls them "men of equestrian rank entering upon what was now the accustomed *cursus honorum* of their class" and "young men directly appointed by the emperor, without any previous military training"; and both von Domaszewski and Seeck give the same impression. Yet I think that Mr Stevenson is wrong, and that it will be worth while to consider what the equestrian officers were intended to do, and the extent to which the men selected proved suitable for their jobs. The time is really ripe for a comprehensive study of the officers of the Roman army in all three groups, if only for the light that such a study might throw on some present-day problems; but I have chosen the equestrian officers for special discussion, in advance of such a study, because there seems most need for their case to be re-examined.

It must be emphasised at the outset that any such discussion will inevitably owe much to the spadework of many scholars, and most of all to that of Alfred von Domaszewski and Arthur Stein. Domaszewski has illuminated every aspect of the organisation of the Roman army, and in particular the relative seniority of its various officers³; and Stein has taught us all to understand the place of the equestrian order in the Augustan state, and how those of its members who served in military appointments, even if they themselves never rose to senatorial rank, might hope to see their sons become senators.⁴ But Stein was inevitably most interested in those members of the equestrian order who rose into its upper stratum, above the strictly military sphere; and Domaszewski, in spite of all his valuable detailed studies, never produced a balanced and comprehensive survey of the equestrian officers as a whole. It should be noted that the materials for such a survey are all the harder to assemble together, because the mere tenure of an equestrian military appointment has not been regarded as sufficient qualification for inclusion in the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, the modern *Who's Who* of the Principate⁵; so that, in practice, it is hardly to be wondered at if modern

² *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, 1914, 94.

³ Cf. in particular *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, 1908.

⁴ *Der römische Ritterstand*, 1927.

⁵ First edition, 1897-8, and second edition, 1933- (in progress), cited as PIR and PIR² respectively.

scholars tend to assume that subsequent promotion to the upper grades of the equestrian service, which has secured its recipient a place in the *Prosopographia*, was in fact a regular and normal sequel to a period of probationary service with troops. Yet, when one comes to think of it, it is no way to set about getting adequate officers for an army, if one makes their military service a mere stepping-stone to service of an entirely different kind; and study of the large series of inscriptions, which record equestrian military service, should emphasise that in many cases, at least, that service occupied a substantial number of years and accounted for a career in itself, and not merely a brief qualifying period.

Let us take the question of age at appointment first, for there seems to be great unanimity in saying that the equestrian officers were normally young men. Here we meet at once with a difficulty: the tombstones of other ranks, and those of centurions (most of whom, in any case, had risen from the ranks), regularly state their age and length of service; but that is not the case with equestrian officers, and though I have collected a certain number of inscriptions which provide specific evidence, I should hesitate to claim that I have a large enough number of instances to provide a really satisfactory basis for general conclusions. I know of only one case, indeed, in which the age on first appointment is given, and that is the phenomenal P. Aelius Tiro (ILS 2749), who received his commission from Commodus at the tender age of fourteen! But there are two cases in which we have men on the verge of receiving appointments, C. Julius Martialis (ILS 2756/7), who had been accepted for equestrian military service, and Ti. Claudius Claudianus (ILS 2758), who was a candidate for it; both of them died at the age of twenty-four. When we turn to men who died while holding prefect's appointments in command of cohorts, or tribunates of comparable standing — commanding cohorts 500 strong — the average age rises: C. Saturius Secundus (XI 1437) was only nineteen, Ti. Claudius Antoninus (XIV 162) was twenty-one and L. Pompeius Marcellinus (III 7131) twenty-three; but T. Statilius Felix (III 506) and C. Cornelius Flaccus (VIII 4879) were both thirty-five, Crescens Licinianus (AE 1905 no. 240) was forty-five, a man whose name is lost was fifty (VIII 5532), M. Valerius Speratus (ILS 7173) was fifty-five and Q. Etuvius Capreolus (ILS 9090) sixty, the average age of the nine men being 38.

But it will have been noted that there are in fact three distinct age-groups beginning to appear: (a) men in their late teens or early twenties, (b) those in their thirties and (c) older men, and we shall see presently that the three groups reappear regularly, and can be explained functionally. Next let us consider men who died while serving as tribunes in legions or in command of milliary cohorts. A Ti. Claudius serving with III Augusta (AE 1920 no. 19) was thirty (or perhaps more). Versenus Granianus (XI 1937) was thirty-two (or possibly forty-two), L. Marcius Optatus (ILS 6948) and T. Statilius Taurus (XIII 6817) were both thirty-six, C. Julius Pudens (ILS 2760) and Q. Herennius Martialis (VIII 20685) both thirty-seven, P. Furius Rusticus (ILS 2760) was forty, Sex. Julius Julianus (ILS 2763) forty-five, C. Antestius Severus (XIII 6812) forty-six, Ti. Julius Latinus (son of the scholar Leonidas) was forty-seven (ILS 1847), Rufinus (who had married a senator's daughter) was forty-eight (ILS 1425),⁶ and Aelius Carus (III 15188²) and M. Julius Venustus (VI 3524) were both fifty-three; the average age at death of the thirteen men in this group comes to 42. Commanders of cavalry regiments, the senior equestrian military grade, provide too small a basis for calculation: if we leave out of account T. Crustidius Briso (VI 3516), who died at the early age of nineteen and must certainly be reckoned one of Augustus's *praefecti equitum laticlavii* — senators designate, given such appointments when there were more candidates than establishment posts as *tribunus laticlavius*⁷ —, there are only C. Julius Corinthianus (ILS 2746) aged thirty-nine, a nameless commander of *ala I Auriana* (VI 3654) aged sixty-five, and one Cornelius (his other names are not preserved) aged sixty-six (VI 3514); the average age of the three works out at 57. Before we leave this consideration of age, it may be worth adding one or two instances from literature. The elder Pliny⁸ claimed *castrense contubernium* with Titus, and to judge by the record of the association between Pliny's adopted son and Claudius Pollio (Pliny *Ep.* 7, 31), the likeliest period for that relationship to have begun was when Pliny himself was serving as *praefectus equitum* and Titus as *tribunus laticlavius*: and

⁶ Cf. p. 130 f. above.

⁷ Suetonius, *Aug.* 38, 2.

⁸ *Nat. Hist.*, praef. 3.

that must have been in A.D. 60 or thereabouts, when Titus was twenty and Pliny thirty-six; at that stage in his career Pliny could certainly not be written off as an inexperienced young man merely qualifying for a civil service career — was it not then that he composed a manual on shooting from horseback? Pertinax,⁹ the future emperor, first sought a centurion's commission, but in the end gained entry into the equestrian service as prefect of a cohort; he was serving in that appointment on the outbreak of the Parthian war in A.D. 161, when he was thirty-five, and he must have been getting on for forty before he in turn rose to the command of a cavalry regiment. In the face of all this evidence, it does not seem reasonable to continue asserting that equestrian officers were necessarily or even preponderantly young men at the outset of a career.

The next point to consider briefly is length of service in individual posts. Here the volume of direct evidence is even scantier. Q. Atatinus Modestus (ILS 2707) served as tribune of *X Gemina* in Spain for sixteen years — but that may have been because Tiberius forgot to supersede him; T. Aufidius Spinter (III 399) was tribune of *IV Macedonica* in the same province for five years, and his son T. Aufidius Balbus served with *XXII Deiotariana* at Alexandria for nine — but both may well have served under Tiberius, notorious for leaving men at their posts¹⁰; a man from Verona (whose name has perished) served as tribune in Britain — under Claudius, therefore, at earliest — for seven years, and thereafter as *praefectus equitum* in Cyrenaica for six (V 3376/7); Q. Etuvius Capreolus (ILS 9090), who died at the age of sixty, perhaps in the time of Nero, had been commanding the second cohort of Thracians for five years; and M. Julius Silvanus is shown by the papyrus strength-return of A.D. 156 to have been commanding *coh. I Augusta praetoria Lusitanorum* in Egypt for upwards of two years (EE VII, art. xlix). Indirect evidence could swell this list quite substantially; thus, inscriptions from Maryport in Cumberland have suggested tenures of command at that cohort-fort, in the time of Hadrian, of two, three or (in two cases) four years (CW2 XXXIX 19 f.); four years or so can be shown to apply in the case of a tribune of the *equites singulares* at Rome in the early years of Pius (VI 31147 f.); and while it is clear that in this sphere, no less than with

⁹ SHA *Pertinax* 1, 5-6.

¹⁰ Suetonius, *Tib.* 41.

centurions or senatorial governors, there was no fixed term of duty, a period of three or four years' service in each post can have been by no means unusual. That is to say, a man who had been through the three successive grades as *praefectus cohortis*, *tribunus angusticlavius* and *praefectus equitum*, might well have had nine or ten years' continuous military service, if not considerably more. Such men might have had little formal military training before taking up their first appointment, but they must have had plenty of opportunity to acquire a profound knowledge of their duties in particular, and military life in general, by the time that they had completed their final appointment; and it is clear that some men in fact spent the whole of their active life in the service, with two or more appointments in each grade. That is neither surprising nor, indeed, an innovation to be credited to Augustus or Claudius or Hadrian, for we meet with its counterpart under the Republic: witness M. Petreius, that *homo militaris*, whose thirty years and more of military service had included the ranks of tribune and prefect before he became a senator¹¹; and under Augustus himself we find Velleius Paterculus, similarly, serving for something like ten years, first as tribune and then as *praefectus equitum*, before being promoted to senatorial rank.¹²

The next point for consideration is the sequence and relative seniority of the equestrian military posts. From the time of Nero onwards, the basic order *praefectus cohortis* — *tribunus angusticlavius* — *praefectus equitum* is well established; up to the time of Claudius, the cohort prefecture had not yet been included in the specifically equestrian series, and it is frequently held by legionary centurions — as, indeed, occasionally happened in later years (e.g., Tacitus, *Agric.* 28); and for a very brief period under Claudius, as Suetonius records and a couple of inscriptions confirm,¹³ the *praefectura equitum* followed command of a cohort and preceded the tribunate. But throughout the principate we find men receiving appointments direct to the legionary tribunate, and often holding no other military post: more of them, perhaps, in the first century than in the second, and more in the second than in the third, but the stream never dries up completely; and that will serve to

¹¹ Sallust, *bell. Cat.* 59, 6.

¹² PIR III, V 237.

¹³ Suetonius, *Claud.* 25; ILS 2681; V 4058.

draw attention to a special feature of the legionary tribunate, which distinguishes it sharply from the other equestrian military appointments. The *tribunus angusticlavius* was not merely a staff officer to the senatorial legate of the legion; he still remained, in a sense, the magistrate seeing that the other ranks were fairly treated, as Roman citizens should be during their military service no less than when they were living their normal municipal life¹⁴; and that will serve to explain the background of so many equestrian officers, many of whom were content with a single tour of military duty as tribune in a legion.

When we turn to consider the antecedents of these officers, a word of caution is needed. For one thing, not every inscription gives full details, and even when full details are given, the chronological order is not always retained; in some cases there is reason to believe that municipal offices are mentioned first (when an inscription was set up in a man's home town), even though some of them were held after the completion of military service; and there is one appointment, as *praefectus fabrum*, which in some cases was civilian and municipal, in others, military, and in some civilian but on the staff of a consul or praetor at Rome or of a proconsul in a senatorial province. But in a high proportion of cases there are no difficulties of interpretation; and though I have not yet been able to work out as complete statistics as I could wish, a reasonably clear picture is already beginning to emerge.

We have seen that three age-groups may be distinguished among holders of equestrian military appointments, namely men appointed in the late teens or early twenties, in the thirties, and in later years. By far the greatest number seem to belong to the middle group, which was mainly recruited from men who had reached the highest municipal office, as *duovir*, in their home towns; and that office, as is well known, normally could not be held before the age of thirty. Men who had held it might reasonably be regarded as sufficiently mature and experienced in the administration of justice to satisfy the needs of the army, yet not too old to be able to adapt themselves to the special conditions and problems of military life¹⁵; and

¹⁴ Cf. Isidore, *Orig.* 9, 3, 29: *tribuni, vocati, quod militibus sive plebibus iura tribuunt.*

¹⁵ It may be recalled that Hadrian (*SHA Hadr.* 10, 6) did not appoint tribunes *nisi plena barba aut eius aetatis quae prudentia et annis tribunatus robor impleret*: and it is worth remembering that

some of these men, after nine or ten years with troops, might still have twenty years or more of useful life to devote to the more responsible posts in the imperial administration, if they should be thought worthy of promotion to that sphere. Entry at a slightly earlier age, in some cases, might be obtained through service as a *iudex selectus* in the five panels of jurymen at Rome (for which the normal minimum age was twenty-five), or as *praefectus fabrum* to a consul or proconsul; and in each of these cases we are justified in presupposing the direct interest of an influential senator as the deciding factor in securing a first appointment to a military post. It will probably be best to add, at this point, the cases of men given equestrian appointments after service as clerks to the quaestors or aediles in Rome; here, too, there was plenty of opportunity for character and abilities to be noticed favourably by influential senators, if not by the Emperor himself. But in the case of the youngest age-group a different explanation must be looked for. C. Saturius Secundus, prefect of the second cohort of Asturians (perhaps in Britain), who was only nineteen when he died, was the son of a *primipilaris* (XI 1437); he may well have been born and bred on an army post, and thus have absorbed the atmosphere and much of the detail of military life before receiving his first appointment. Ti. Claudius Claudianus, the candidate for such an appointment who died aged twenty-four (ILS 2758), was the son of a centurion, with similar opportunities of preparing himself from childhood upwards for an officer's career; and we may not be far wrong if we suppose that the really young men among the equestrian officers were mostly of this type. Such men would naturally be at an advantage in the long race whose ultimate goal was the praetorian prefecture. We must suppose an early start of that order in the case of a man like M. Macrinus Avitus Catonius Vindex (ILS 1107), who after four equestrian military appointments and a procuratorship was transferred to the senate, given the consulship and commanded two consular provinces before dying at the age of forty-two — the age at which Sex. Caecilius Januarius (VI 3495) died after completing four equestrian military appointments (he, too, must surely have begun his service before the age of thirty). At the other end of the scale municipal constitutions show that the duovir was as such a *tribunus militum in posse*, in the event of an emergency requiring the town to provide a force under arms.

we have the older men, some of whom had perhaps taken longer to climb the municipal ladder, or to attract senatorial notice as a support for a military career, while others had risen from the ranks of the legions, like M. Valerius Speratus or Q. Etuvius Capreolus (ILS 7173 and 9090), and only received their appointments in the fifties; such men were already tried warriors of twenty or thirty years' service, and would more than counterbalance such of the equestrian officers as were really young men.

Reference has already been made to the effect of senatorial patronage. We are fortunately able to watch concrete instances of it at work in the younger Pliny's letters: thus, in 2, 13 he canvasses his friend Priscus, then commanding a large army, for a post for his friend Voconius Romanus, a contemporary of his own, who had risen to the highest municipal post in his native province, Hither Spain, to hold the chairmanship of its Provincial Council, and must then have been nearly forty (the appointment in question was presumably as *tribunus angusticlavii*, though it is not specifically mentioned — in any case, Voconius Romanus was presently promoted to senatorial rank by Trajan¹⁶); in 3, 8 Pliny secures a tribunate from Neratius Marcellus, then no doubt already governing Britain, for Suetonius, who in turn asks successfully for it to be transferred to his kinsman Caesennius Silvanus instead; in 4, 4 it is the redoubtable son-in-law of Sex. Julius Frontinus, Sosius Senecio, who is asked to confer a *semestris tribunatus* on Varisidius Nepos. But the most interesting case is in 7, 22, where Pliny asks Pompeius Falco (later to become Hadrian's first governor of Britain) to confer a tribunate on his friend Cornelius Minicianus,¹⁷ for Pliny adds what he considers to be suitable qualifications for such an appointment: *idem rectissimus iudex, fortissimus advocatus, fidelissimus amicus*: good training as a lawyer and qualities of character were more important than anything else. It was not merely senators who could secure such appointments for friends or clients from governors of provinces or from the Emperor himself; a Vestal Virgin might oblige, as we know was the case with Aemilius

¹⁶ Cf. PIR II, L 144: his full name was C. Licinius Marinus Voconius Romanus (II 3866).

¹⁷ Not the C. Cornelius Minicianus of ILS 2722, who was *praef. coh. I Damascenorum, trib. leg. III Augustae*; Pliny's friend must have been given a tribunate in *X Fretensis*, the legion of Judaea, where Pompeius Falco was then governor.

Pardalas in A.D. 240 (ILS 4929).¹⁸ And it is no great strain on the imagination to suppose that the consul or proconsul who had chosen a municipal worthy for service as *praefectus fabrum* on his staff might be the man mainly responsible for his subsequent entry into the imperial service as *praefectus cohortis*; and when a provincial town-councillor was selected for service on the panels of jurymen in Rome, the influence of a senatorial governor in recommending that appointment, and in securing a subsequent military post, may legitimately be inferred. But in some cases the initiative may even have come from the town council itself, in the form of a memorial to the Emperor; such, at least, was the case under Augustus, as Suetonius records (*Aug.* 46): *equestrem militiam petentis etiam ex commendatione publica cuiusque oppidi ordinabat* — the implication seems to be that this practice was no longer followed at the time of writing.

If an initial recommendation secured a first appointment, still more must a man's promotion have depended on the confidential reports by superior officers, such as we might have postulated with confidence even if we had no specific evidence for them; but fortunately such evidence is to hand. Pliny, again, is our most interesting source; in 10, 86B he submits to Trajan a report on Fabius Valens (as the context indicates, the occasion is the latter's vacation of a military appointment, though its nature is not specified); and from 10, 87 it appears that it may have been a normal practice, in such cases, for a copy of a favourable report to be given to the officer reported on, for Pliny's friend Nymphidius Lupus the younger — son of a *primipilaris* and himself prefect of a cohort — has earned such reports from Julius Ferox and Fuscus Salinator (here again, by the way, there is an indication of an appointment lasting long enough for its holder to have served under more than one governor), and Pliny seems to be aware of the sense of them. Such reports would inevitably pass through the hands of the Emperor's secretary *ab epistulis*, and be filed by him; and that explains how in the military sense he came to act as Adjutant-General and Military Secretary, responsible — as we learn from a famous passage in Statius (*Silvae* 5, 1, 94 f.) — for all military appointments, from direct commissions as

¹⁸ I pass over cases where bribery or corruption interfered with the planned working of the system; the recorded instances would be well worth a separate study.

centurion upwards; Staius himself, indeed, seems to confine such appointments to the centurionate and the three equestrian military grades, but it will be recalled that Vespasian owed his command of *II Augusta* (and hence the opportunity to win a reputation for himself in command of that legion in Britain) to the influence of Claudius's powerful *ab epistulis*, the freedman Narcissus,¹⁹ and it stands to reason that the man who kept the files of confidential reports should be in a position to advise the Emperor on the most suitable men to fill specific posts. That aspect of the duties of *ab epistulis*, by the way, throws interesting light on the career of Pliny's friend Titinius Capito, who held the post under Domitian, Nerva and Trajan (ILS 1448); there is no sign of a disturbance in the careers of *virī militares* as a result of the fall of the Flavian dynasty, or on the replacement of the elderly lawyer Nerva by the soldier Trajan, and indeed one is tempted to reconsider the reputation of Domitian as an emperor, if his military appointments met with such general acceptance under his successors as is indicated by prosopographical study.

From initial selection and the part played by confidential reports let us turn to consider the duties of equestrian officers. A basic list is given by Aemilius Macer, writing in the time of Severus Alexander (*Digest* 49, 16, 12, 2): to keep the troops in camp, to bring them out for training, to keep the keys of the gates, from time to time to go round the guards, to be present at their fellow-soldiers' meal-times and to test the quality of their food, to keep the quartermasters from cheating, to punish offences (within the limits of their competence), to hear their fellow-soldiers' complaints, and to inspect the sick-quarters. Macer applies the list of duties to tribunes or those in command of an army, but it obviously holds good for all equestrian officers, at least as a minimum conduct of work. All the same, the commander of a cohort or of an *ala* had further specific duties to attend to: "Nothing," according to Vegetius,²⁰ "does so much Honor to the Abilities and Application of the Tribune, as the Appearance and Discipline of the Soldiers, when their Apparel is neat and clean, their Arms bright and in good Order, and when they perform their Exercises and Evolutions with Dexterity." Hadrian's speech

¹⁹ Suetonius, *Vesp.* 4, 1.

²⁰ Vegetius 2, 10 (I quote from John Clarke's translation, 1767, p. 65).

to the first *ala* of Pannonians in Numidia in A.D. 128 is a case in point²¹: *praefectus vester sollicitus videtur vobis attendere*, he observes, after complimenting the regiment on the excellence of its display; again, Pliny mentions (*Ep.* 7, 31) the *summa integritas* and *sollicita diligentia* displayed by his friend Claudius Pollio (cf. ILS 1418) when in command of the *ala milliaria* in Syria. By contrast, if an auxiliary unit showed up badly, its commander was likely to be the first to suffer for it; witness Corbulo's treatment of the *praefectus equitum* Aemilius Rufus, as recorded by Frontinus (*Strat.* 4, 1, 28): for retreating in the face of the enemy, and for having his regiment insufficiently well trained, he was publicly degraded and then, it seems, dismissed the service — and there are sufficient references, in the legal writers and elsewhere,²² to *missio ignominiosa* applying to equestrian officers, for us to realise that a high standard of efficiency and devotion to duty could be demanded of them.

In the legions, the *tribuni angusticlavii* were not normally employed in command of troops, but in compensation they had considerable administrative duties. Thus, we find them supervising the discharge of time-expired men (Tacitus, *Ann.* 1, 37), checking the reliability of centurions (*ib.* 1, 44), selecting non-commissioned officers and in general superintending the smooth running of the whole machine of the legion. That is not to say that they had no opportunity of distinguishing themselves in the field; there are ample instances of legionary tribunes winning decorations to prove that their service in the field was not merely administrative.

But it is perhaps right to emphasise that the Roman army was devised to maintain peace rather than to be on continuous active service, and commanders of auxiliary units no less than the tribunes in the legions had normally a great deal of administrative and paper work to see to. The rich haul of papyri from Egypt and, more recently, from Syria has given us a useful cross-section of such activities. It will be sufficient in the present study to refer to a few typical instances²³: they

²¹ ILS 9134.

²² e.g., Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* 6, 3, 64: *dixit Augustus praefecto, quem cum ignominia mittebat, subinde interponenti precibus "Quid respondebo patri meo?"*, "Dic, me tibi displicuisse." The neatness of the reply would inevitably be lost in translation.

²³ The most convenient collections of this category of evidence are

were responsible for maintaining detailed records of strength in men and horses, of the day to day employment of all soldiers of the unit, and of its finances, and in general for preparing as rich and varied a series of returns as any modern army (with all the advantages of typewriters and carbon-paper) can require. In addition, they were liable to undertake a variety of duties in the administration of the province in which they were stationed, for example superintending the *epicrisis* in Egypt, or providing for the entertainment and safe conduct of ambassadors passing through Syria on their way to Rome from the Parthian court. One document is of especial interest (*P. Oxy.* vii 1022): a letter from the prefect of Egypt, C. Minicius Italus (on the next to top rung of the equestrian ladder) to Celsianus, prefect of the third cohort of Ituraeans (on the bottom rung of all), closes with *vale frater karissime*: both were members of the same brotherhood of service, for all the difference in rank between them. And though they fall outside the period of the principate, with which this study is concerned, reference may be made in passing to the correspondence of Abinnaeus, prefect of *ala V praelectorum* in Egypt in the middle of the fourth century, with a wide range of duties ranging from suppression of smuggling to supporting tax-collectors; one letter, in particular,²⁴ illustrates perhaps the most remarkable feature of equestrian military service: it notifies him of the impending arrival of his successor, and instructs him to hand over the regiment, its standards and equipment, to the latter, to put him thoroughly into the picture (as we should say) as to all his duties, and thereafter to attend to his own affairs — in other words, to revert to civilian life. It is a striking thing, well attested by the legal writers,²⁵ that equestrian officers were only officers for as long as they held appointments on the establishment, and from the moment when their successors arrived in the camp they became civilians, even if it were necessary for them to stay on, for some time, to complete handing over.

in Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine d'Égypte*, 1918, and Mitteis and Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, 1912, I ii; but a reasoned selection of Roman military documents, many of which are at present very hard to come by, would be well worth producing as a separate volume.

²⁴ Mitteis-Wilcken I ii no. 464.

²⁵ Cf. *Dig.* 29, 1, 20 (Julian).

Domaszewski at one point²⁶ committed himself to the assertion that the special employment of equestrian officers was confined to strictly military duties; he proceeded to refer to the acting command of other units, the command on active service of *ad hoc* groups of auxiliary troops, conducting legionary detachments from one province to another, mustering recruits or acting as military governors of frontier tribes or frontier territory. But there is a good deal of evidence to show that they regularly had a part to play in the civil administration of the provinces: and that is sufficient to explain why they so frequently rose to places of responsibility in what it is convenient to describe as the Civil Service. For example, in the Hadrianic regulations for the control of trade at Palmyra there is provision for certain cases to be referred to the commander of its garrison,²⁷ and in two instances we have concrete evidence of the Council of that city honouring commanders of cavalry regiments in terms which suggest that they had been taking a close and friendly interest in its affairs during their term of command. As it happens, both instances in addition throw some light on the working of the equestrian military system in general, and it may therefore be permissible for me to digress slightly and examine them briefly.

The first case is that of C. Vibius Celer, described (AE 1933 no. 207) as *ἐπαρχος τῆς ἐνθαδὲ εἰλης* — commander of the *ala* stationed here — and as *πολίτης καὶ σύνεδρος* — fellow-citizen and senator of Palmyra, on an inscription set up in his honour. It is beyond question that he was no Palmyran born, but should be identified with the C. Vibius Celer Papirius Rufus of Circeii, whose tribe Pomptina is the best guarantee of his Italian origin, and that the unit in question was the *ala I Ulpia singularium*, which appears as the latter's third appointment on the inscription from Circeii (X 6426) and is attested by two inscriptions at Palmyra itself²⁸; an inscription from Gerasa shows that Vibius Celer rose to be procurator of Arabia under Allius Fuscianus, whose governor-

²⁶ *Rangordnung*, 135.

²⁷ Cf. Seyrig in *Syria* XXII, 1941, 159 and 165 f.; he shows that, though the regulations are dated A.D. 137, this particular provision is due to a first-century governor of Syria.

²⁸ Seyrig (*op. cit.*, 241) wrongly concludes that Vibius Celer was commanding the *ala Herculana*, but it seems clear that it was only at Palmyra in the time of Marcus and Verus; for the presence there of the *ala I Ulpia singularium* cf. AE 1933 nos. 210 and 211.

ship can now be assigned to the early years of Pius, thus providing a *terminus ante quem* for the dedication at Palmyra.²⁹ His previous service had been as prefect in command of *coh. I Montanorum* (probably in Upper Moesia), and as tribune in command of the milliary *coh. I Flavia Hispanorum* in Dacia; this, then, is one of the careers in which (a) the tribunate is in command of a cohort and not on the staff of a legion, (b) the three posts are all in different provinces. As regards the tribunate, the question arises whether this was a man who had shown such ability as a commanding officer that it was felt undesirable to waste him on the routine staff work of a legionary tribunate: some such explanation may well hold good in cases of the kind, but there is insufficient evidence to justify a firm conclusion. His service in three different provinces is a phenomenon often paralleled, but there are also plenty of cases in which an equestrian's three military appointments are all held within one and the same province; here we are brought up against a problem which can be posed, but not yet answered with any confidence. There seems in some cases to be a regular pattern of transfer: for example, T. Attius Tutor from Solva in Noricum (ILS 2734) and T. Furius Victorinus (ILS 9002), who was to become praetorian prefect under Marcus and Verus, both commanded cohorts in Britain, served as tribunes of *II Adiutrix* in Lower Pannonia, and then commanded *alae* in Dacia; and the first two stages recur in the less complete career of A. Fabius Proculus (XIV 2618). We have seen from Pliny's letters that initial appointments were often due to the recommendation of individual senators to senatorial friends then in command of provincial armies — to whom, it follows, the Emperor had delegated the right to pick their own staff officers; in some cases, no doubt, such commanders might wish, on transfer to another province, to take some of their equestrian officers with them, and to promote them in the process; and transfer from a cohort in Britain to the legion of Lower Pannonia might be the result of a legionary legate in Britain, promoted to that praetorian governorship, offering a tribunate to a man whose qualities he had had occasion to observe and appreciate when serving as a district commander in the former province. But the subsequent promotion to the command of an *ala* in Dacia cannot be explained in the same way, for the Dacian command was not

²⁹ Cf. Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius II*, 1933, 33.

part of the same pattern of senatorial promotion as that which led through Lower Pannonia. At present it must suffice to point out that there were three normal possibilities (though it is not yet possible to judge to what extent any of them may have predominated): (a) the equestrian officer might perform the whole of his service in a single province, owing his promotions to the judgment of successive governors (most recorded instances of this type seem to belong to the first century); (b) governors or legionary legates, on transfer to other provinces, might take selected equestrian officers with them; (c) such transfers might be made direct by the Emperor, through his secretary *ab epistulis*, to fill establishment vacancies with suitably qualified officers. I have already noted a number of instances which can be shown to belong to type (b), and there is no doubt that prosopographical study should make it possible to identify more cases of the same kind.

The second officer honoured by the erection of an inscription at Palmyra was a certain Julius Julianus, certainly to be equated with the man who ultimately rose to be praetorian prefect and was executed by Commodus in A.D. 190; he is described (AE 1933 no. 208) as εὐσεβῆς καὶ φιλόπατρις and has in consequence been taken for a native of Palmyra. But the analogy of Vibius Celer and of another equestrian officer, to whom reference will be made presently, may suggest caution³⁰: Julius Julianus, too, may well have been granted honorary citizenship of the town for services rendered. In this case, the particular interest of the inscription is the occasion for its erection: he has been honoured by the Emperors (clearly Marcus and Verus) with τετάρτη στρατία — that is to say, *militia quarta*. Several inscriptions of the second century refer to the *tres militiae*, and these are easily recognisable as the successive posts of cohort-commander, tribune and *praefectus equitum*. Domaszewski, indeed, suggested³¹ that the term implies three appointments, and that where *IV militiae* are mentioned four appointments are in question, though he added that the command of a *numerus* should be understood by *militia quarta*; but that interpretation cannot stand. For one thing, we possess the full career of Julius Julianus (ILS

³⁰ Seyrig points out (*op. cit.*, 229) that Roman citizens of Palmyrene origin normally retain native or Greek *cognomina*, and suggests that Julianus was only an honorary citizen of the place.

³¹ *Rangordnung*, 131.

1327): he was prefect of *coh. III Augusta Thracum* (in Syria), tribune of *coh. I Ulpia Pannoniorum milliaria* (in Upper Pannonia), prefect of the *ala Herculana* (in Syria, specifically at Palmyra itself, as several inscriptions demonstrate), and finally prefect of the *ala Tampiana* (in Noricum); thereafter he entered the upper strata of the equestrian administrative service. Command of the *ala Tampiana*, therefore, must be the *militia quarta*, to which he was about to set out from Palmyra when the inscription there was set up. Now it is noticeable that on several inscriptions of the second or third centuries command of an *ala milliaria* follows that of an *ala quingenaria*, whereas up to the time of Trajan inclusive it may follow immediately after the tribunate; it may be suggested that command of a cavalry regiment one thousand strong was what constituted the fourth *militia*,³² the importance of which will be all the better appreciated when we bear in mind that there were only a dozen units of that type in the whole Roman army. Their commanders, therefore, might well be regarded as the cream of the equestrian military service, and it is not surprising that many of them rose to positions of great eminence in later years. We have seen that Julius Julianus ended up as praetorian prefect; and Macrinus Avitus, to whom reference has already been made, was another representative of the class. It is not yet certain when the fourth *militia* was established as a distinct grade, but the innovation may well be due to Hadrian, who introduced so many improvements in detail to the organisation of the Roman army and of the equestrian public career.

Mention of the *tres militiae* brings me to a further career, which adds substantially to our knowledge of the equestrian military service. Two inscriptions from the town of Sala, on the Atlantic coast of Mauretania Tingitana, attest the career and the services to that *municipium* of a certain M. Sulpicius Felix, of Rome. He has served in succession as prefect of the first cohort of Germans, tribune of *XVI Flavia* and tribune of *coh. III Ulpia Petraeorum*, all (perhaps) in Cappadocia, before taking over the command of *ala II Syrorum civium Romanorum* in Tingitana; but the four posts are described as

³² In that case, it must be inferred that the *ala Tampiana* had been increased from 500 to 1,000 strong by the time of Marcus, for it is not described as *milliaria* on the diplomas for A.D. 103 and 122 (XVI 48 and 69).

tres militiae; in other words, the *militiae* are in fact grades in the service and not individual appointments — and that explains why four is the highest number ever specified, even though in some cases as many as half a dozen successive appointments are attested.

The first inscription (AE 1931 no. 36) merely sets forth his career, and adds that it was set up in his honour by his friends on account of his care for the town of Sala and his uprightness (*ob adfect. munic. Sal. et innocentiam*), and closes with the names of thirty-eight friends; the second (*ibid.* no. 38) gives an extract from the proceedings of a meeting of the town council, held on 28 October 144, including a long and exceptionally interesting statement of his services to the place. This is not the time to go into all the questions of interest which this second inscription raises, but one or two points are strictly relevant to our present discussion. (a) His *origo* is given as Rome, but he is described as *condecurio noster, civis egregius* (compare the cases of Vibius Celer and Julius Julianus at Palmyra, above), whilst in another place it is stated outright that the grant of membership of their council, and the rank of duovir, had been made to him some time previously, in recognition of his services to the town. (b) Those services had not been strictly military, though they included the provision of guards to protect the citizens' fields and flocks, and the strengthening of the town's walls; they had covered supervision of its finances, the administration of justice and the augmentation of Sala's corn-supply out of the resources of his regiment (his friends are careful to add that this last was done without any harm to the troops — as in Britain, the regimental granaries no doubt contained a generous reserve supply of corn). (c) The council therefore determine to erect a statue in his honour at Sala and, with the governor's approval, to send legates to the Emperor to testify to their satisfaction and that of the whole citizen-body of the place at the services of Sulpicius Felix. Here we have another indication of the ways in which *ab epistulis* might augment his evidence for the efficiency, and suitability for further employment, of individual officers; no doubt the governor of the province would send a written report to the Emperor, as Pliny did in a similar case (*Ep.* 10, 86B), before ever the legates arrived in Rome (if they were in fact permitted to make

the journey); and these are not the only instances of testimonials from towns. We may add the inscription (unfortunately it is incompletely preserved) from Bergomum in Italy (V 5127), recording the proceedings of the council of a colony — perhaps in Baetica, though that is not certain — on a similar occasion: the surviving portion of the text consists of a preamble and the opening lines of a motion in honour of M. Sempronius Fuscus, *praef. coh. Baeticae*, who was due to vacate his appointment and set out for Rome, and whose services to the colony during his period of command were thought worthy of special commemoration; that commemoration presumably included setting up a statue to him, complete with an extract from the council's minute-book, in his home town, and the sending of a testimonial to the Emperor seems a logical addition (though mention of it is not preserved). Similar services, outside the range of specifically military duties, must have inspired the people of Clunia in Hither Spain to enter into *hospitium* with C. Terentius Bassus, *praef. alae Augustae*, in A.D. 40 (ILS 6102); and an inscription from Hispalis in Baetica (ILS 1403) may be adduced, as showing a definitely civil task being assigned to an equestrian officer: Sex. Julius Possessor, while serving as prefect of the third cohort of Gauls in Dacia, was *curator* of two towns in that province.

We shall probably be justified in placing in the same category the not infrequent cases of serving equestrian officers taking part in the census of a province, as Sulpicius Felix had done before leaving Cappadocia (AE 1931 no. 36); such services, giving an opportunity for confidential reports from procurators as well as from senatorial governors, must have been of material service to *ab epistulis* in selecting men to recommend to the Emperor for promotion into the procuratorial career. What proportion of equestrian officers obtained that promotion cannot be estimated, but a provisional impression is that it was a relatively small one; Hirschfeld was probably right in his suggestion³³ that such promotion was usually the reward for long military service, rather than the automatic outcome of good behaviour in a period of probationary service with troops.

Nothing has been said so far, nor is there space for me to

³³ *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, 1905, 423.

say very much, about the geographical origins of equestrian officers; but there can be no question that Domaszewski was wrong in claiming that Severus excluded Italians from the service, and that he was the first emperor to bring in large numbers of easterners. For example, out of the very small number of equestrian officers recorded on third-century inscriptions in Britain, for whom an *origo* is either specified or to be inferred with reasonable certainty, six are Italian and several more seem on balance most likely to be so. By contrast, of the known prefects of the *ala VII Phrygum* between the times of Domitian and Pius inclusive, Italy can only claim two, while Hither Spain, Mauretania, Aquitania and Lycia provided one each; undated inscriptions enable us to add a further Italian, another Lycian and a man from the province of Asia. But it is no doubt fair to assume that throughout the first and second centuries Italy provided the lion's share of such officers. I have taken from my files the first fifty men, on inscriptions of that period relating to the army of Britain, for whom an *origo* is recoverable: Italy accounts for 60%, the western provinces 14%, the Danube provinces and North Africa each 10%, and the eastern provinces only 6%. But it must be emphasised that these proportions are not necessarily applicable to the whole Roman army; the equestrian officers in the armies of Cappadocia or Egypt or Syria certainly included more easterners and fewer men from the west. But this question really deserves separate discussion, as do several other aspects of the subject; there has been no opportunity, for example, even to refer to that extremely important group of equestrian officers, the *virī militares* (as Tacitus calls them) who had worked their way through the centurionate and the primipilate, to hold key appointments as senior staff officers in Rome or in the provinces: in any case, they must be discussed against their background of the centurionate, and not in the same breath as the main body of equestrian officers. Yet reference must be made, however briefly, to a small and at first sight puzzling group of men, who after holding equestrian military appointments transferred to the centurionate, without loss of face or, it seems, of rank.³⁴ Such transfers must surely have been initiated by *ab epistulis*; these were perhaps men who had developed such special aptitude for what we may

³⁴ Cf. ILS 2726; II 18* (unjustifiably damned by Huebner); II 2424; IGR III 472.

call "straight soldiering", as opposed to military administration, that they were given an opportunity of working up to the primipilate and the highly specialised posts to which that alone gave access.

The foregoing account has necessarily been somewhat obscured by digressions on points of detail. It may be convenient to sum up, however briefly, the main features of the normal equestrian career. (a) Most officers were in their thirties when first appointed, and had shown administrative and legal ability in municipal life before being commissioned; but a small proportion of younger men, sons of centurions, and of older men (sometimes ex-centurions themselves) was to be found also. (b) Individual appointments lasted three or four years on an average, and a man who showed special aptitude could, if he wished, obtain half a dozen successive posts, and spend the rest of his active life in the service. (c) Promotion from one grade to another was influenced by the confidential reports submitted to *ab epistulis* in Rome, who would be guided by them in picking officers for further employment in the upper grades of the administrative service, and in general those men who distinguished themselves most in military appointments had the best chances of winning distinction and promotion in that service. (d) But the men who obtained such promotion must always have been a very small proportion of the total field — as in the case of the centurionate, in which relatively few men could hope to reach, and fewer still to pass, the primipilate. (e) Equestrian officers were technically civilians, except when holding specific establishment posts, so that an inefficient one need never constitute a permanent liability to the service; he could always be superseded and returned, without compensation, to civilian life. That is the most remarkable feature of the equestrian military system; it is perhaps a pity that it cannot be adopted in some modern armies.

XIV

THE ORIGINS OF EQUESTRIAN OFFICERS:
PROSOPOGRAPHICAL METHOD*

* *Durham University Journal*, June 1951, 86-95.

I. Introduction

In a previous paper, devoted to a general discussion of the equestrian officers of the Roman army,¹ I have had occasion to refer briefly to the question of their geographical origins, and to point out that it deserves to be studied in greater detail. The need for such a study has been further emphasised by a discovery made while that paper was in the press. In October 1949, Mr Noel Shaw had the good fortune to identify a Mithraeum, a few yards from the Roman fort at Carrawburgh on Hadrian's Wall, with three fine altars standing in it, each of them dedicated by a different prefect of *cohors I Batavorum*, the third-century garrison of that fort; the building was completely excavated, during the summer of 1950, by the Durham University Excavation Committee, in association with the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, and a full report on it, by Professor I. A. Richmond, is to be printed in *Archæologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., XXIX. I discuss the three prefects in detail, in a note to be incorporated in that report²; here it will be sufficient to point out that one of them gives Larinum in Italy as his home, another can be shown to come, in all probability, from Lower Germany, while the third, though his names are too indistinctive for his origin to be inferred from them, has nothing suggestive of an eastern origin about him. It so happens that three other prefects of the cohort were already attested at Carrawburgh: one of them, too, may be assigned to Italy, another to Spain, while the names of the third are non-committal but not inconsistent with an origin in Italy or the Roman west. Yet it will be recalled that Alfred von Domaszewski alleged that Severus excluded

¹ D.U.J., December 1949, 8 f. [— reprinted above, p. 133 f.].

² The note is reprinted below, p. 172 f.

Italians and westerners from the equestrian military service, and that from his time onwards it was monopolised by Asiatics, Africans and Illyrians (*Rangordnung*, 133); and though the assertion was promptly and effectively questioned by Hermann Dessau (*Hermes* XLV, 1 f.), the massive value of Domaszewski's *Rangordnung* has tended to mislead many students of the Roman empire in this matter as in others. The evidence from Carrawburgh will serve to show that it is high time to look into the whole question afresh, as part of that general survey of the equestrian officer class which is long overdue; and the present paper is offered as the first instalment of such a survey. To carry conviction, it must be a detailed one; it will not be sufficient to take a lucky dip (for example, by confining attention to the examples included in Dessau's *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*), or to be content with noting the men whose *origines* are specified on the inscriptions which record their membership of the class. That is what Domaszewski did, though his treatment even of that material leaves something to be desired, as Dessau pointed out; for example, he quotes six inscriptions from Britain in support of the dictum referred to above: but one of the officers concerned, from Mursa in Lower Pannonia (VII 341), was commanding the *ala Augusta* at Old Carlisle in A.D. 191, two years before the accession of Severus, and his military service must have started in the early years of Commodus; and the prefect of *coh. I Hispanorum* at Maryport, whose home was at Sicca in Africa (VII 373), can be shown, on a consideration of the evidence for the cohort's history, to have been stationed there as early as the time of Hadrian (CW2 XXXIX 19 f.); and Domaszewski omitted from consideration a prefect of *coh. IIII Gallorum*, attested on a third-century inscription from Chesterholm (VII 704), who gives Brixia in Italy as his *origo*. It will be necessary to mount our attack on a wider front, taking into account not merely recorded origins, but origins which there is reason to infer with confidence from the study of individual officers — either because men of the same names are attested, obviously at home, in some town of Italy or Africa or elsewhere, or because the names themselves point decisively to one part of the Roman empire, or at least exclude another part. In this way, we may hope to obtain a far larger basis for a statistical survey, the need for which hardly requires to be stressed.

Such a survey must be based on the intensive prosopographical study of a large number of individual officers, and must necessarily derive most of its materials from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* and other epigraphic publications, while in its analysis of personal names it will have to draw largely on the results obtained by Wilhelm Schulze in his monumental work, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (1904). As far as the principles of interpretation are concerned, it is hoped that many of them will be sufficiently illustrated in the course of an examination of individual cases, but it will save a good deal of time and space if I devote the present paper mainly to a discussion of method. In that discussion, I shall select my examples of names, as far as possible, from those which are borne by equestrian officers, particularly such of them as served in Britain, or which do not appear in Schulze's general index or in the indexes of CIL; in that way I may be able to offer a modest contribution to the study of personal names, and so in part repay my debt to Schulze, besides illustrating my main subject, the geographical origins of the equestrian officer class.

2. The Sources

The main collection of inscriptions is in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, which will normally be referred to by the roman numbers of its volumes, without the prefix CIL. It will be convenient to note that for Italian origin the surest evidence is the occurrence of a name in IV, IX, X, XI or XIV, which between them cover the whole of Italy except Rome itself and Cisalpine Gaul; VI, which gives the inscriptions from Rome, is a less reliable guide, for the capital was a melting-pot into which people from all over the empire poured, as Juvenal will remind us; and in V, which covers the north of Italy, there is a substantial element of names which are either of Celtic or of Veneto-Illyrian origin, as Schulze and others have shown. The allocation of the remaining topographical volumes is as follows: II covers the Iberian peninsula, III the eastern provinces and all the Danubian lands, VII Britain, VIII Africa, XII Narbonensis and XIII Gaul and the Germanies; the volume-reference will often serve, without further mention, to indicate the geographical distribution of a name, and for that reason it will always be given, even where

the inscription in question is more conveniently accessible in Dessau's *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, cited as ILS. Other inscriptions will be cited from AE = *l'Année Épigraphique*, EE = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, IGR = Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, or SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*; and for Africa it will often be necessary to refer to Gsell, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie* (cited as Gsell) or to ILA = Cagnat and others, *Inscriptions latines de l'Afrique*, 1923, and ILT = Merlin, *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie*, 1944: the last two works do not take into their indexes many of the rare and interesting names, recorded on tombstones, which they cite in the text.

For the study of the names themselves, the principal source will be Schulze's book, to which reference has already been made; it will be cited as LE. The main additional work of reference to be used is Holder's *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, indispensable for the study of Celtic names, though Holder was somewhat catholic in his selection of material for inclusion in his lists; a useful supplement is provided by Felix Oswald's *Index of Potters' Stamps on Terra Sigillata*.

On individuals, the foundation of such a study must necessarily be provided by the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (cited as PIR or PIR²), and the articles, especially those by Edmund Groag or Arthur Stein, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie* (cited as RE). But it will be convenient to give here a short list of books and articles in which there is a specific discussion of equestrian officers, or which illustrate the method of prosopographical enquiry:—

(i) A. von Domaszewski, "Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres", *Bonner Jahrbücher* 117, 1908 (especially 122 f.) — cited as *Rangordnung*.

(ii) H. Dessau, "Die Herkunft der Offiziere und Beamten des römischen Kaiserreichs während der ersten zwei Jahrh. seines Bestehens", *Hermes* XLV, 1910, 1 f.

(iii) G. L. Cheesman, "The family of the Caristanii at Antioch in Pisidia", *J.R.S.* III, 1913, 253 f.

(iv) E. Ritterling, "Ein Offizier des Rheinheeres aus der Zeit des Caligula", *Germania* 1, 1917, 170 f.

(v) A. Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand*, 1927 (especially 363 f.) — cited as Stein, *Ritterstand*.

(vi) C. S. Walton, "Oriental senators in the service of Rome", *J.R.S.* XIX, 1929, 38 f.

(vii) E. Birley, "Marcus Cocceius Firmus: an epigraphic study", *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* LXX, 1936, 363 f. (especially 365-368) [reprinted above, p. 87 f.].

(viii) A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, 1939.

(ix) E. Birley, "Building-records from Hadrian's Wall", *Arch. Aeliana*, 4th ser., XVI, 1939, 219 f. (especially 234-236).

(x) E. Birley, "The origins of legionary centurions", *Laureae Aquincenses* II, 1941, 47 f. [reprinted above, p. 104 f.].

(xi) E. Birley, "The equestrian officers of the Roman army", *D.U.J.* XI, December 1949, 8 f. [reprinted above, p. 133 f.].

(xii) H. G. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs équestres sous le haut-empire romain*, 1950.

3. Roman Personal Names

It is a commonplace that the full name of a Roman citizen comprised as many as six elements: *praenomen*, *nomen*, filiation, tribe, *cognomen* and *origo*; and each of these elements may have something to tell us about the individual citizen. In the following brief discussion I confine myself to noting those points which have a bearing on our prosopographical enquiry. It will be necessary at the outset to note that, as Dessau pointed out forty years ago, it is commonest to find names set out thus fully on military lists or on the tombstones of private soldiers, particularly in the first century; when we come higher in the social scale, it is noticeable that the *origo* is far less frequently mentioned: for example, Dessau noted that only seven out of 100 or more equestrian officers on inscriptions from Britain recorded it. We will take each of the six elements in turn.

(a) *Praenomen*. Late inscriptions usually omit the *praenomen* altogether, and in estimating the date of an undated inscription, its presence or absence may be a useful guide. Its omission was due to its increasing lack of significance; so many Julii (for example) had the *praenomen* Gaius, abbreviated C., that it could be taken for granted and omitted on inscriptions, and it was undoubtedly men who bore imperial *nomina* (of which, more presently) who jettisoned their *praenomina* first. For prosopographical purposes, it may be noted that some families tended to keep to a particular *praenomen* — thus, all members of the Flavian house received the

praenomen Titus, abbreviated T., as did all who received grants of citizenship from Vespasian or his sons; but a Flavius with the *praenomen* Lucius or Marcus, abbreviated L. or M., might owe his citizenship to some other source, if not to unbroken descent from another branch of the Flavian *gens*. Again, a C. Julius is likely to owe his citizenship ultimately to Cæsar, Augustus or Caligula, a Ti. Julius to Tiberius, but with a Cn. Julius we must be careful. Thus, Cn. Julius Agricola, from Forum Julii in Narbonensis, may well have been of old Italian stock, for all that his family was settled in an Augustan colony. The total number of *praenomina* was not large; for them, and for Roman personal names generally, it will be sufficient to refer to Cagnat's *Cours d'épigraphie latine* (4th ed., 1914, 37 f.), noting here that the rarer *praenomina* are normally a safe guide to origin either in Italy itself or in an Italian colony; thus, the father of C. Velius Rufus of Heliopolis in Syria, who rose through the centurionate to the procuratorship of Raetia (ILS 9200), had the *praenomen* Salvius: Heliopolis was an Augustan colony which, like Berytus in the same province, provided many members of the officer class, and long remained a stronghold of Italian culture.

(b) *Nomen*. It will be necessary to devote a separate section of this paper to a discussion of the rarer *nomina*, which are naturally the most useful ones when we are seeking to identify the origins of an individual. The main points to be made at the present juncture are as follows. First, the normal practice was for a man who received Roman citizenship to take the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the benefactor through whose good offices it was conferred; these names, therefore, might have little bearing on the racial origins of the men who bore them. Next, the largest grants of citizenship were made by the emperors, and in any large series of inscriptions the commonest *nomina* are likely to be imperial ones, particularly Julius, Claudius, Flavius, Aelius and Aurelius; Ulpius lags behind somewhat, while Sulpicius and Cocceius are fairly rare, as might be expected in view of the briefness of the reigns of Galba and Nerva respectively. But there are also a number of *nomina*, prominent in the Fasti of the Republic and the early Principate, which obtained a wide distribution in a comparable way — Pompeius and Antonius, for example, or Cornelius, the epigraphic distribution of which has recently

been studied by Antonia Lussana ("Osservazioni sulle iscrizioni di una gens romana," *Epigraphica* XI, 1949 (1951), 33 f.), who shows that in the provinces the *nomen* occurs most frequently in Spain, Africa and Narbonensis. It is sometimes possible to identify the senator through whose good offices one of the rarer *nomina* has been conferred: thus, the many Q. Veranii in Lycia and Pamphylia undoubtedly derived those names from Quintus Veranius, one of the first governors of that pair of provinces, who was in due course to govern Britain; and we shall have occasion to note other examples later on. Schulze's work enables us to distinguish names of Italian origin with great confidence; but not all of them are attested in Italy itself. Italian colonies overseas must have absorbed many names, which thereafter only appeared in Italy when some colonist rose in the imperial service, and made his way to the capital as an officer or civil servant; we shall be seeing some instances presently. As to names of non-Italian origin, it will be simplest to consider them below, in the section devoted to rare *nomina*.

(c) Filiation. This is the statement of the father's *praenomen*, usually in the form C. f. = *Gai filius*, or the like. Here, too, the later the inscription, the less likely is it that the particulars will be given; and the majority of equestrian officers, when dedicating altars, do not mention their filiation. The general point to be noted is, that the *praenomen* remained "living" far longer in the Italian countryside and in the older Italian colonies than elsewhere, and if the filiation shows that father and son had different *praenomina*, the case for Italian origin will be stronger. This point may perhaps be best illustrated by quoting an inscription published in Italy during the war, and reproduced in *AE* 1946 no. 94: *L. Iulio L. f. Ani. Graecino tr. pl., pr., M. Iulius L. f. Ani. Graecinus quaestor f.* This is clearly a memorial to Agricola's father, the Julius Graecinus who rose to the praetorship and was put to death by Caligula; the names, the senatorial offices and the tribe *Aniensis*, to which Forum Julii belonged, are sufficient to prove the point. The memorial was put up by his son (it is immaterial whether the last letter stands for *f(ilius)* or for *f(ecit)*, when the names, tribe and filiation show the relationship), who bore his father's *cognomen* but a different *praenomen*; M. Julius Graecinus was presumably the elder son,

receiving his father's *cognomen*, while the younger son (perhaps by a different mother, since Tacitus does not mention the present man in his biography of Agricola) was given a *cognomen* which reflected one of his father's chief interests: it is noteworthy that in that colonial family the *praenomen* was still a living thing, serving to distinguish different members of the same family, at a time when the Flavii of Reate in Italy had standardised Titus as their sole *praenomen*. One *praenomen* deserves a special mention here, for its military use, though we are not likely to find it in that sense among equestrian officers. Spurius was an old and, in its day, distinguished *praenomen* — witness the Spurius Lartius of the *Lays of Ancient Rome*; but the Roman army assigned it in their filiation to the men born out of wedlock in the cantonments, on their entry to service in the legions and the receipt of Roman citizenship (which was a prerequisite for such service); and it seems clear that the origin of the use of Spurius for such cases was in Roman military book-keeping. Such men had no father, legally speaking, and the original entry was *s. p.*, for *sine patre*; and *Sp.* was the standard abbreviation for Spurius.

(d) Tribe. The standard work on the Roman tribes' geographical distribution is W. Kubitschek's *Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum*, 1889, long out of print and very hard to come by (his article *tribus*, RE VIA 2492 f., was unfortunately unfinished when he died, and as printed it does not nearly reach that question). In examining specific cases, reference to that book is indispensable, but it will be worth while to point out here that the tribe can in some cases be of considerable service in leading us to the *origo* of an individual. For one thing, there are a number of tribes in which only towns in Italy itself were enrolled: Camilia, Clustumina, Falerna, Lemonia, Menenia, Oufentina, Poblilia, Pomptina, Romulia, Sabatina, Stellatina and Voturia are of this class; but it must be noted that in republican times and in the early principate a new citizen would be enrolled in his benefactor's tribe, as well as assuming the latter's *praenomen* and *nomen*, and one meets with an occasional member of one of these tribes who is clearly of Greek origin and Greek domicile, while Pomptina will be mentioned again below, in a different category. Then there are the "imperial" tribes, Fabia, Quirina, Papiria and

Sergia: men who received the citizenship from Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius or Caligula, and who were not residents of chartered towns enrolled in one or other of the 31 "rustic" tribes, regularly took the tribe Fabia together with the name Julius; witness the procurator Julius Classicianus, whose tombstone in London shows him to have been a member of that tribe (VII 30 + *Antiq. Journ.* XVI, 1936, 1 f.); similarly, Claudius, Nero and the Flavian emperors assigned their new citizens to Quirina, Nerva and Trajan to Papiria, Hadrian to Sergia. Antoninus Pius, as far as can be judged, did not continue the practice; by his day, the tribe was too obviously an antiquarian survival, and it is mentioned increasingly rarely on inscriptions. It seems possible that the members of Pomptina, who give towns in Spain as their *origo*, represent individual grants of citizenship by Galba, whose tribe that was.³ Finally, there are the tribes which occur in some one province so frequently, and so rarely elsewhere, that their members may be assigned to it with some degree of confidence: for example, a member of Aemilia is likely to have come from Macedonia, if not from Italy — nowhere else was there a town enrolled in that tribe; Aniensis, Agricola's tribe, occurs also at Caesaraugusta in Hither Spain and Alexandria Troas in Asia, but otherwise is confined to Italy; Arnensis is the tribe of nine or ten Italian towns, and of a dozen or more in North Africa, and so on. Statistically, a member of Galeria is likelier to come from Spain than elsewhere, one of Voltinia from Narbonensis, and in the case of Tromentina the chances are fifty-fifty whether Italy or Dalmatia is in question.

(e) *Cognomen*. There is not much to be said about *cognomina* in the present context, though the subject is one which will repay detailed attention. Reference to Holder will often serve to indicate the Celtic origin and perhaps the geographical distribution, within the Celtic area, of a specific name; and it may be noted that past-participle forms, such as Donatus, Honoratus or Optatus, are so common in the African provinces as to deserve special mention here.⁴ But the geographical

³ That, at least, was Kubitschek's view (*De Romanarum tribuum origine ac propagatione*, 1882, 163 f. and 187 f.).

⁴ This point is well brought out in L. R. Dean's 1916 Princeton dissertation, *A study of the cognomina of soldiers in the Roman legions*, which deserves to be more widely known — and enlarged to cover the rest of the Roman army.

distribution of *cognomina* still awaits treatment on the same meticulous plan as Schulze's work on *nomina*, and it will not be possible to do more than note such specific cases as have been studied in the course of work on equestrian officers. One point, however, must be emphasised. Greek *cognomina* do not necessarily imply origin, whether racial or geographical, in the Greek East; for slaves were most commonly given Greek names, whatever the provinces from which they came, and they retained those names on receiving their freedom, and in many cases transmitted them to their descendants. Thus, the Claudius Epaphroditus Claudianus, tribune of *coh. I Lingonum*, who dedicated an altar at Lanchester in County Durham (VII 432), may well have been a descendant of Ti. Claudius Aug. lib. Epaphroditus, a freedman of Claudius or Nero; but the altar is assignable to the third century, and even if the freedman had been of oriental origin, his remote descendant might well have been of mainly Italian stock as well as of Italian domicile.

(f) *Origo*. It has already been pointed out that the *origo* is relatively rare on the inscriptions set up by equestrian officers; its appearance, when it does appear, is therefore all the more welcome. But we may be justified in accepting, as the equivalent of specific mention of it, those cases in which an inscription is set up, in honour of a man, in a town known to belong to the tribe of which it shows that he himself was a member, particularly if it records that he had held municipal office there; in such cases, there is at least a strong presumption that the inscription has been set up in honour of a native of the place.

(g) *Rare nomina*. In some cases, a rare *nomen* may be sufficient to justify a confident inference as to the origin of its bearer. It will be convenient to examine a few specific instances, starting with some of Italian origin. It has already been pointed out that such names were not necessarily confined to Italy, or even represented there during the Principate. Witness the Caristanii of Pisidian Antioch, studied by G. L. Cheesman in a notable paper, mentioned above: the first C. Caristanius Fronto, one of the Augustan colonists, served as tribune of *XII Fulminata* and as prefect of a cohort in the time of Augustus himself (ILS 9502-3), while his grandson and namesake, after a legionary tribunate and the command

of an *ala*, was promoted to senatorial rank by Vespasian, commanded *IX Hispana* in Britain under Frontinus and in the first years of Agricola's governorship (ILS 9485), and in A.D. 90 rose to the consulship (AE 1949 no. 23); several other Caristanii occur at Antioch, and none can be shown to have come from elsewhere: we shall be justified, therefore, in assigning that *origo* to the Caristanus Justinus who commanded *coh. I Hamiorum* on the Antonine Wall in Scotland (EE IX 1242). Some day rare "exiled" *nomina* deserve to be studied as a group, together with those which barely occur in Italy, but are relatively plentiful in some one province; it may be that they will have something to tell us about the displacement of Italian stock which was brought about by the civil wars or by the large-scale policy of colonisation which marked their aftermath. I have noticed other instances besides Caristanus, such as Campusius at Antioch in Pisidia (III 6824 = ILS 2237), Ignienus from Alexandria Troas in Asia (Betz, *Untersuchungen zur Militärgeschichte der r. Provinz Dalmatien*, 1939, 67) and Salludius from Berytus (AE 1929 no. 208), for example. The Aburnii of Alabanda in Caria, two of whom served as equestrian officers in the time of Trajan and Hadrian (ILS 9471 = AE 1911 no. 161), or the Crepereii of Attalea in Pamphylia (IGR III 777 and AE 1915 no. 46), were presumably members of similar families, though they had made their homes in towns of non-Roman origin; neither *nomen* is at all common in Italy.

In Italy itself, there are a great many *nomina* which can only have been at home in a single town, though there is always the possibility that some of their bearers may have visited the capital, or even settled there; but we have already noted that the occurrence of a *nomen* in Rome is not always likely to have much bearing on its original distribution. A particularly good example of this type is provided by an inscription recently found in the northern part of the Roman province of Syria, AE 1950 no. 190:—

L. Conetanio L. f. Crust. Proculo Carsulas, vixit an. XXIII me. XI d. XX[VIII, L.] Conetan[ius P]roclu[us trib. leg.] VI Ferr. [filio] piissimo (there follows a Greek version) — "To Lucius Conetanius Proculus, son of Lucius, of the tribe Crustumina, from Carsulae; he lived 23 years, 11 months, 28 days. Lucius Conetanius Proculus, tribune in *legio VI*

Ferrata (set this up) to his devoted son."⁵ Here tribe and *origo* are specified: Carsulae in Umbria was already known to belong to the tribe Clustumina (as it is more commonly spelt), and an inscription from Carsulae was the only one quoted by Schulze for the *nomen* (XI 4608, Conetania L. f. Secunda); we can now add two bearers of the name from Rome — Conetania Sabina (VI 35227) and L. Conetanius Proculus (VI 26118), who may well be the tribune of the Syrian inscription himself, and must at least be a kinsman of his. When we come to discuss the equestrian officers who served in Britain, we shall meet with some more *nomina* of the same kind, and a number of cases where the complete identity of names encourages a similar identification; at present it will be sufficient to quote the Faesellii of Ariminum, one of whom ended his career as procurator of Lower Pannonia under Antoninus Pius, without ever holding a military appointment (XI 378 = ILS 1381, cf. LE 191), or the Neriani of Carsulae (XI 4598, 4617), Praeneste (XIV 3387) and Rome (VI 22914 f.): Sex. Nerianus Sex. f. Clu. Clemens, attested as prefect of *coh. I Montanorum* in Pannonia in A.D. 80 (XVI 26), in view of his tribe, may be assigned to Carsulae without hesitation.

But it is not only Italian *nomina*, whether at home in Italy or elsewhere, which are capable of helping us. Schulze devotes special attention to the names of Celtic origin, both those which occur as early as the first century in northern Italy, and those which were "fabricated" (as we may conveniently term it) north of the Alps in a later period; such names are readily recognisable, especially if one checks them in Holder's *Sprachschatz*, and we shall be meeting with some typical instances among the officers who served in Britain: they commonly involve the addition of the suffix *-ius* or *-inius* to an existing root, which may be that of a Celtic or of a Roman personal name, and in the latter case it will be the geographical distribution that suggests the origin of the particular *nomen*. In some cases, the process may require watching carefully; thus, there is a rather rare group of Italian *nomina* ending in *-urnius* (Schulze quotes some twenty examples of this group, of which Calpurnius is the only one which is really common), but the Nocturnius of XIII 4408 is a Gaul whose *nomen* has

⁵ To judge by his son's age, the tribune must have been in his forties at least; cf. the discussion of equestrian officers' ages above, p. 135 f.

been fabricated from the name Nocturnus. Again, Schulze has shown that Acutius (LE 68) and Rapidus (LE 218, 437) are good Italian names, the former of Latin and the latter of Etruscan origin, and have nothing to do with the adjectives *acutus* and *rapidus*; but we may be justified in suspecting that the Acutii of XIII 6688 = ILS 7083 are the bearers of a fabricated *nomen*, which happens to coincide with an old Italian one — unless, indeed, they are descendants of a man who received the citizenship through the influence of Q. Acutius Nerva, who governed Lower Germany in the early years of Trajan's reign. The fabrication of *nomina* was particularly common in the Rhineland, where we also meet with the practice of giving a son or a freedman a new *nomen* derived from the *cognomen* of the father or the patron; that is a fashion which Schulze regarded as especially characteristic of the Germanies, though it seems safer to assign it to the Celtic north-west generally.

In Africa, too, the fabrication of *nomina* was widespread, though on nothing like the same scale as in Gaul and the Germanies. Witness M. Minthionius Tertullus, prefect of *coh. V Gallorum*, on an altar from Cramond on the Firth of Forth (VII 1083 with EE IX p. 620) — at earliest, in the time of Pius, but possibly (as Mr Ronald Winter has suggested to me) as late as that of Severus: the cohort is not attested at South Shields in County Durham before A.D. 222 (EE IX 1140). As Dessau pointed out to Haverfield, a man of the same names, if not the same man, occurs on an inscription from Mactaris in Africa (VIII 23420), where three other Minthonii are recorded (VIII 23401 = ILS 4142, 23437), while the only other known examples of the *nomen* come from Hippo Regius (VIII 5256 cf. 17406 = Gsell 68) and from Cuicul in Numidia (VIII 20177); the name is undoubtedly of African origin, as Schulze pointed out (LE 594), derived from the Punic Mintho. There must be many more fabricated *nomina* in Roman North Africa awaiting study, apart from those listed in the index of VIII: for example, M. Barigbalus of Pheradi Maius (ILT 246) has merely added the suffix *-ius* to the Punic Barigbal (for which cf. LE 483, footnote 2), and with Cabdollonia Fortunata at Thugga (ILA 588) we may compare the Punic Cabdolon or Cabdollo (VIII 27193, 27213); Cholobonius Victoricus at Zama Minor (ILT 1574) and L.

Zabbius Marullus at Sicca Veneria (ILT 1611) are other instances.

One interesting group of *nomina*, to which Schulze draws attention (LE 113, footnote 2), has been derived from the names of eastern provinces, countries, towns or islands: Schulze cites examples of Arabius, Armenius, Assyrius, Chaldaea, Lidia, Bithynia, Aradius, Tyrius, Sidonius, Delphius, Perintius, Milesius, Sardi, Lesbius and Rhodius. Most of these names clearly belong to humble folk, and in some cases they may well have been assumed by the freedmen of a provincial council or of a city; we sometimes meet with such formations in Italy too, as with Minturnius Successus *coloniae lib(ertus)* at Minturnae (AE 1914 no. 221 — this *nomen*, not noted by Schulze, must not be confused with the older *nomina* in *-urnius* to which attention has been drawn above). But some of them turn up in better company — witness the Aradii who appear in the senate in the third century and are leading members of it in the fourth (PIR² I, A 1013 f.); the family seems to have originated in Africa, and it seems possible that its name was not derived immediately from the town of Aradus in Phoenicia, but from a Punic personal name. There is one name which Schulze includes in the same list, but which there are grounds for removing from it, namely *Pannonius*. Pannonius Avitus is attested as procurator of Cilicia (*Digest* 29, 2, 86), and Pannonius Maximus as *praefectus equitum* — by the find-spot of the inscription (III 832), of *ala II Pannoniorum* — in Dacia; the other instances of the *nomen* which I have noted are a father and son, both named M. Pannonius Solutus, the former of whom held local offices in Upper Germany (XIII 6211), and M. Pannonius Jucundus at Lambaesis in Numidia (VIII 18442)⁶; it seems possible that we have to do with an exiled Italian *nomen* (compare Tannonius, LE 143, 337) which, accidentally, resembles the "provincial" type.

I will content myself with mentioning only one more rare *nomen* at this stage, partly because its bearer was an equestrian officer, partly because I cannot at present say what its origin was. An inscription from Lambaesis (VIII 2776) was set up by Sex. Verteblasius Victor, *praefectus equitum*, in memory of his father, a man of the same three names; I know of no

⁶ To these may be added a soldier of *III Augusta* in a military list from Dimmidi, *Castellum Dimmidi*, 1947, 182: Pannonius Maximus.

other Verteblasius, and the other *nomina* in *-blasius*, Amblasius (LE 153, 345) and Seblasius (XIII 11891) are too sparsely attested to help us. Schulze takes the former to be Italian, and it may be that the same is true of Seblasius and Verteblasius; at least we can say that no Verteblasii are attested elsewhere, and that Lambaesis in Numidia is the only known home of a family of that name.

4. Statistical Treatment

When we come to examine equestrian officers in the mass, it will be necessary to divide them into groups according to the periods in which they served, if we are to attempt to follow such changes as there may have been in the recruitment of the service; and in practice it will be most convenient to group them by centuries, as indeed was done in effect by Domaszewski, whose dictum, referred to above, represents an attempt to assess the condition of the service in the third century. When we are dealing with inscriptions in frontier provinces, which mention units whose movements can be followed with the aid of dated texts, our task will be easy; for example, the long series of tribunes of *coh. I Aelia Dacorum* at Birdoswald on Hadrian's Wall can be assigned with confidence to the third century, since the dated examples range from the time of Severus to that of Tetricus (JRS XIX 214 with XXXI 143, VII 823); it is noteworthy that one of them, Funisulanus Vettonianus (VII 811), is the namesake of a prominent consular of the Flavian period and must presumably be regarded as yet another Italian. When we come to examine the equestrian officers who served in Britain, we shall see that the third-century group is readily distinguishable, mainly on Order of Battle evidence, and its very size will make it of exceptional interest for statistical treatment.

However large the group selected for examination may be, it is likely to contain a large proportion of men whose names are indeterminate — the bearers of imperial or other common *nomina*, with colourless *cognomina*; but even such men may have something to tell us, when taken in the mass. For example, the incidence of imperial *nomina* may at least serve to indicate the extent to which the service was being recruited from the ranks of recent citizens; thus the third-century officers in the army of Britain, of whom I have noted just over

100, include only one Septimius, 10 Aurelii, 8 Aelii, 4 Flavii, 5 Claudii and 7 Julii: they give no indication of a substantial influx of new families into the service. It is noteworthy that imperial *nomina* tend to appear among equestrian officers according to a fairly regular pattern: first a few during the lifetime of the emperor whose name they bear — these are presumably, in most cases, members of the leading classes in the Greek East, given the citizenship to qualify them for posts for which their education and family traditions well fitted them, such as Ti. Claudius Cleonymus of Cos (PIR² II, C 840), who served as tribune of *leg. XXII Primigenia* under Claudius; he was a brother of C. Stertinius Xenophon, chief physician to Claudius (IGR IV 1086, &c.), who served as military tribune in the army of invasion in A.D. 43 and earned, or at least received, military decorations for his service: the latter no doubt owed his citizenship and his first two names to the patronage of C. Stertinius Maximus, suffect consul in A.D. 23 (IGR IV 1724). But it is commonest to find a time-lag of a generation or so before such names become at all common in the service: thus, the earliest instance which I have noted of a T. Flavius in an equestrian military appointment is in A.D. 96 (XVI 40), a month after the death of Domitian, but plenty of T. Flavii occur in the first half of the second century, in equestrian posts as well as in the centurionate. In such cases we may not be able to identify their geographical origins, except when the *origo* is specified; thus, T. Flavius Laco, prefect of *coh. II Mattiacorum* in Lower Moesia in A.D. 138 (XVI 83), has a *cognomen* which was borne by a leading family of Anagnia in Italy during the closing years of the Republic, and which occurs as the name of an East Gaulish potter (RE XII 346), and it might have been thought that he came from Italy or from the Celtic north-western provinces — but the diploma which attests him adds his *origo*, Side (presumably the town of Pamphylia, RE IIA 2208). Even if the names are common and colourless, however, we may sometimes chance on a clue to a man's origin; for example, it seems possible that the T. Flavius Secundus who commanded *coh. I Hamiorum* at Carvoran on Hadrian's Wall in the closing years of that emperor's reign (VII 748) was a kinsman of the man of the same names attested at Pergamum in Asia a few years earlier (IGR IV 386): as with Caristanus Justianus, it would be appropriate to put the Hamians under a man from the Greek

East, who might be likelier than an Italian or a westerner to be able to speak their language.

Imperial *nomina*, then, will serve mainly to illustrate the extent to which the field of selection widened as time went on, but are less likely to show how far individual provinces or Italy itself shared in providing equestrian officers; for that we must rely on the cases where an *origo* is stated or to be inferred with confidence.

The main object of statistical analysis is to determine the respective contributions of Italy and the different provinces to the equestrian service. But it must be borne in mind that a man from Syria was not necessarily of Syrian ancestry, nor one from Africa of Punic or Berber stock, for many colonies long continued as islands of Italian civilisation and the Latin language, and some of them must have gone on turning out Romans of the old school long after Rome itself had become filled with a mixture of all the races of East and West. Such, for example, was the Augustan colony of Berytus in Syria, the modern Beirut, whose lawyers made a substantial contribution to the compilation of Justinian's *Code* and *Digest*: the latest mention of the tribe by an equestrian officer serving in the Rhineland is on an altar dated A.D. 249, set up by a prefect of *coh. I Aquitanorum (veterana)* who gives Berytus as his *origo* (XIII 6658). And not all the men who entered the service from Africa in the third century can be lumped together with Orientals and Illyrians, in Domaszewski's grouping, as representatives of a new and un-Roman class. Q. Gargilius Martialis, of Auzia in Mauretania Caesariensis (VIII 9047 = ILS 2767), who commanded *coh. I Asturum* in Britain in the middle of the century, and lost his life in a Berber rising a few years later, is probably to be equated with the writer Gargilius Martialis, whose work on horticulture, the cultivation of olives, the treatment of diseases in cattle and other subjects, has been compared, not unfavourably, with that of the elder Pliny (RE VII 760 f.), and he is cited by the Augustan Histories (for what that may be worth) as author of a history of Severus Alexander in the manner of Suetonius (SHA *Sev. Alex.* 37, 9 and *Probus* 2, 7); the *nomen* Gargilius is of Etruscan origin (LE 172), but commoner in Africa than in the rest of the empire put together: his father is shown by an inscription from the territory of Auzia (VIII 20751) to have been a veteran, of the same three names, and the family was perhaps one of

those settled at Auzia by Severus, who converted the existing *municipium* into a colony (RE II 2623). When we have sorted our officers into groups according to their province of origin, therefore, we shall have to look further into their antecedents or their social background, or we may arrive at some quite misleading conclusions as to their significance, as Domaszewski did.

So much must serve as a general introduction to the subject. In a subsequent paper I hope to analyse the 250-odd equestrian officers who served in the army of Britain, and who provide the largest convenient cross-section of the service.

XV

THE PREFECTS AT CARRAWBURGH AND
THEIR ALTARS*

* From "The temple of Mithras at Carrawburgh" by I. A. Richmond and J. P. Gillam, *Archæologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., XXIX, 1951, 45-51.

I PROPOSE to take the three altars in what seems to be their chronological order: for whereas A. Cluentius Habitus gives the cohort's name in full, and accords to the town of his origin the titles *Septimia Aurelia* (which suggest that the inscription was cut when *Septimius* Severus was still alive, reigning jointly with his son M. *Aurelius* Antoninus — known to posterity as Caracalla), L. Antonius Proculus abbreviates the name of the cohort and adds the title *Antoniniana*, assignable on British inscriptions to the period 213-222, while M. Simplicius Simplex omits the cohort's name altogether, as though it need not be mentioned again, with two adjacent altars already proclaiming it.

I. A. CLUENTIUS HABITUS

D(eo) in(victo) M(ithrae) s(acrum), Aul(us) Cluentius Habitus prae(fectus) coh(ortis) I Batavorum, domu Ultin(i)a Sept(imia) Aur(elia) L(arino), v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito): "Sacred to the unconquered god Mithras. Aulus Cluentius Habitus, prefect of the first cohort of Batavians, whose home is the Septimian-Aurelian colony of Larinum, in the tribe Voltinia, willingly and deservedly fulfils his vow." The dedicator bears the names of a famous — or notorious — client of Cicero's, a leading citizen of Larinum, a town near the east coast of Italy and on the borders of Samnium and Apulia (its name survives, on an adjacent site, in the modern Larino); Cicero's speech, which served to win his case against great odds, is still extant, and the whole story can be read in it or between its lines. It may seem remarkable enough to find the namesake of a man of Cicero's day attested as late as the

time of Severus; what is even more noteworthy is that there are no traceable intervening links. No Cluentius qualified for inclusion in the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, and the only other bearer of the *nomen* in my index of officers of the Roman army is a centurion of *legio III Augusta*, attested by a first-century inscription from Africa.¹ Larinum itself has only produced one or two records of the name²; elsewhere, it occurs of course in Rome,³ in the north of Italy,⁴ in Latium⁵ and Campania,⁶ while two Cluentii are attested in Dalmatia⁷ and three more in Africa.⁸ The list might be lengthened slightly if we took into account instances of *Cluventius* or *Cloventius*; but it is not certain that they represent the same name, for they are best regarded as derivatives of the simpler form *Cluvius*, while *Cluentius* is perhaps derived from the place-name Cluentum in Picenum, a little further up the east coast of Italy.⁹ We must suppose that the Cluentii of Larinum had somehow lingered on, never rising to sufficient affluence to make their mark in the world, until this representative of them obtained the command of a cohort from Severus.

An Aulus Cluentius Habitus could afford to abbreviate the name of his home town, Larinum, to its initial; no educated reader (and the votaries of Mithras were necessarily men of some education) could fail to identify it. That left him room to place on record a recent change in the status of the town, for which this altar provides the first evidence: namely, that it had been given the rank of a colony by Severus and Caracalla, receiving their names as part of its titles. In Cicero's day Larinum was a *municipium*, and it has customarily been

¹ AE 1927 no. 42 = Merlin, *Inscr. lat. de Tunisie*, 1944, 465 (from Ammaedara, the modern Haidra).

² IX 742 and perhaps 754.

³ VI 7002 and 15856.

⁴ V 2785 = ILS 6694, 3569, 4570 and 7178.

⁵ XIV 3750-1.

⁶ X 8047, 6 and 7, and 8059, 121.

⁷ III 1864 (Narona) and 12970 (Salonae).

⁸ VIII 20279 (Satafis, Mauretania Caesariensis), 25657 (Simitthus); *Inscr. lat. de Tunisie* 1109 (Carthage).

⁹ Schulze, LE 483, footnote 8, only mentions the name casually and does not discuss its origin. For Cluentum cf. Eduard Norden, *Alt-Germanien*, 1934, 226; he cites the name as one of Illyrian origin, but quotes no authority for it: it is not referred to in RE or, for example, in Julius Jung, *Grundriss der Geographie von Italien*, 1897.

supposed that it remained in that condition¹⁰; it must be left open whether Severus actually settled veterans in the town, or whether he merely conferred on it the title of a colony, now regarded as the highest status that a chartered community could receive: but in either event the emperor's action provided a convenient occasion for one of the leading citizens of Larinum to attract his notice, and as a result to be given a prefect's appointment in Britain.

A chartered town, whether *colonia* or *municipium*, was enrolled in one of the 31 "rustic" tribes, the voting divisions in which Roman citizens, up to the closing years of Augustus, went to the poll. It has hitherto been supposed that Larinum belonged to the tribe *Clustumina*, attested by three inscriptions found there.¹¹ But there is no case in which Larinum is specified as the man's *origo* and *Clustumina* as his tribe (which would prove the point); and the Carrawburgh altar shows that, at least after its receipt of a charter from Severus, the town belonged to the Voltinian tribe.¹² The spelling *Ultinia*, in place of *Voltinia*, occurs spasmodically elsewhere¹³; on the present altar the stone-cutter no doubt intended to extend the last upright of the N, to produce the ligature NI, but omitted to do so, thus leaving *Ultina*.

Altogether, the first of the altars proves to be one of the most interesting yet found on the line of the Wall. The other two have less important information to give us, but each of them has something useful to provide.

II. L. ANTONIUS PROCULUS

D(eo) inv(icto) M(ithrae), L(ucius) Antonius Proculus praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Bat(avorum) Antoninianae v. s. l. m.
— "To the unconquered god Mithras, Lucius Antonius Proculus, prefect of the first cohort of Batavians, Antoninus's

¹⁰Cf., however, RE XII 839, citing *Lib. colon.* 260 for a colony there; so few inscriptions have been found at Larinum that its status between the time of Augustus and that of Severus cannot be established.

¹¹ IX 731, 737 and 755.

¹² The possibility cannot be excluded that two distinct communities shared the citizenship of Larinum, one enrolled in Voltinia and the other in *Clustumina*; such was the case at Tuder in Umbria, most of whose citizens belonged to the latter tribe, but one or two (as in XI 4748) to Voltinia.

¹³ e.g., III 7397.

Own, willingly and deservedly fulfils his vow." The prefect's names are too colourless for us to be able to deduce his origin from them. L. Antonii occur widely throughout the Roman empire, and Proculus is one of the commonest and most widespread of all *cognomina*. There is no reason (for example) to identify our prefect with the L. Antonius Proculus who died at the age of seventy or more, and was buried at the place whose ruins are now known as Henchir Sidi Amara in Africa.¹⁴ But it so happens that there is another record of a man of these three names, whose service in the same equestrian career makes him a possible candidate for such a connection, namely the L. Antonius Proculus attested as *epistrategus Thebaidos* (that is to say, district governor, under the prefect of Egypt, of the Thebaid) by an inscription from Alexandria.¹⁵ The inscription is undated, but its lettering seems to be compatible with a date in the first half of the third century; the post in question came three or four rungs higher on the equestrian ladder, being normally held by men who had completed their *tres militiae*¹⁶; and it may well be that the official in Egypt was the same man as had commanded the cohort at Carrawburgh, and that the inscription at Alexandria was set up eight or ten years later than the altar with which we are concerned. Its date may be set at A.D. 213-22, in the reign of either Caracalla or Elagabalus, both of whom granted the title *Antoniniana* to units of the Roman army. The *terminus post quem* in other provinces would be A.D. 212, when Caracalla became sole emperor by the murder of his brother Geta; but, as I pointed out some years ago,¹⁷ units of the army of Britain do not appear with that title on any of the inscriptions of A.D. 213 — several of which, by their protestations of loyalty to Caracalla, suggest that its attitude to him had recently been an ambiguous one; and it must be supposed that they were not allowed to call themselves "Antoninus's Own" until the emperor had satisfied himself of their loyalty. As between Caracalla and Elagabalus, the balance of probability seems to me to favour the former, since the title is written out in full, as though still a novelty: before long, it was commonly

¹⁴ VIII 12160.

¹⁵ *Bull. Soc. Alex.* 7, 1931, 284, cf. PIR² I, A867.

¹⁶ Cf. p. 148 above.

¹⁷ AA4 XI, 1934, 129 f.

abbreviated, but it may be recalled that it is still given in full on the inscription of A.D. 216 from Bremenium.¹⁸

III. M. SIMPLICIUS SIMPLEX

Deo invicto Mitrae, M(arcus) Simplicius Simplex pr(a)efectus) v. s. l. m. — "To the unconquered god Mithras, Marcus Simplicius Simplex, prefect, willingly and deservedly fulfils his vow." It is not difficult to judge from what part of the Roman empire this prefect came, for all that he does not record his origin: his names give him away. The *nomen* Simplicius belongs to the type widespread throughout the empire but by far the most common in the Celtic north-western provinces, formed by adding the suffix *-ius* to the root of a *cognomen*, in this case *Simplex* (genitive *Simplicis*). On receiving Roman citizenship the "regular" custom was to adopt the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the patron who had conferred it (hence the enormous number of Roman citizens who bore the first two names of emperors — P. Aelii, for example, recording grants of citizenship by Hadrian or T. Flavii by Vespasian, Titus or Domitian); but in Gaul and the Rhineland and, we may add, in Britain, many people preferred to convert their existing single names, or their fathers' names, into new Roman *nomina*, and Simplicius is merely one example of such conversion.¹⁹ The name is, in fact, attested on two other inscriptions found in Britain: Simplicia was the dedicator of a votive offering to a local god equated with Mars, found at Martlesham in Suffolk,²⁰ and a sarcophagus in York preserves the memory of Simplicia Florentina, the infant daughter of a soldier of *legio VI Victrix*. Felicius Simplex,²¹ whose own *nomen* has been formed from the *cognomen* Felix, while he has modified his own *cognomen* to provide a *nomen* for his daughter. We cannot exclude the possibility, therefore, that the prefect at Carrawburgh was of British origin; but Lower Germany seems a more likely home for him. Two Simplicii

¹⁸ VII 1043, cf. *Northumb. County Hist.* XV, 1940, 144, no. 2.

¹⁹ Cf. Schulze, LE, *passim*, particularly 56 f.

²⁰ ILS 4558, improving on the reading given in VII 93a.

²¹ VII 247. Schulze, LE 57, footnote 1, suggests that the father came from the Rhineland, as did many of the legionaries of the army of Britain; but the Martlesham dedication will suffice to show that he might equally have been of British origin.

are recorded on inscriptions from Holland,²² the derivative *nomina* Simplicinius and Simplicianius occur at Bonn and Cologne respectively,²³ and the basic name Simplex occurs at Cologne and Xanten,²⁴ all within the territory of *Germania Inferior*; and M. Simplicius Quietus, tribune of *coh. III Batavorum milliaria equitata Antoniniana* in Lower Pannonia (in the period 212-222, as is shown by the title *Antoniniana*), dedicated an altar to the Lower German goddess Vagdavercustis.²⁵ I have noted outlying bearers of the *nomen* in Italy²⁶ and Africa,²⁷ but the weight of the evidence points to Lower Germany, and we shall not be far wrong in supposing that the prefect at Carrawburgh was a kinsman of the tribune in Lower Pannonia, and that he, too, looked on Vagdavercustis as his patron goddess, when he was not preoccupied with the worship of Mithras.²⁸

Our three prefects, therefore, prove to be as varied in their names and in their backgrounds as in the altars which they set up and the lettering which they caused to be cut. *Habitus* came from Italy, and in his names recalled a man whom Cicero had defended, in a famous case three centuries before; Simplex was from the Rhineland, a member of a family whose Roman surname had only recently been concocted; and Proculus, whose names give us no clue to his origin (though they suggest that his family was one which had possessed Roman citizenship for many generations), was in due course to rise higher in the emperors' service, and to hold important office at the other end of the Roman world, in Egypt. I must leave to

²² XIII 8726 (Ubbergen near Nijmegen): *Simplicius Ingen(u)s*; and 8805 = ILS 2536 (Hemmen): *Simplicius Super, dec. alae Vocontior. exercitus Britannici*, dedicating to the goddess Vagdavercustis, on whom see below.

²³ XIII 8065 and 8423.

²⁴ XIII 8203 = ILS 2418, 8223, 8631 = ILS 4789, 10024-34, 12080.

²⁵ AE 1935 no. 163, from Adony in Hungary, the Roman *Salina vetus*. For other dedications to Vagdavercustis, all from Lower Germany, cf. XIII 12057 = ILS 9000 (Cologne), 8662 (Calkar), 8702-3 (Rindern) and 8805 = ILS 2536 (footnote 22 above) — the latter set up by another Simplicius.

²⁶ V 6096.

²⁷ VIII 25441.

²⁸ It may be added that Simplicius, in view of its meaning, became very popular as a personal name in later centuries, particularly among Christians; ten bearers of it are recorded in RE IIIA 203 f., including a brother of Sidonius Apollinaris and the sixth-century Neoplatonist.

another occasion a discussion of the bearing of the Carrawburgh altars on the recruiting of the equestrian service in the Severan age, and on the question of the extent to which Mithraism appealed to the officers and other ranks of the Roman army I should need more space than can be allowed in the present note; but even so, I have perhaps said enough to indicate the remarkable interest of the three principal altars from the Carrawburgh Mithraeum.

XVI

A CENTURIAL INSCRIPTION FROM CARLISLE*

* *Cumberland & Westmorland Transactions*, new series, LI,
1952, 179-180.

At the beginning of September 1951 a number of dressed sandstone blocks, clearly part of the Roman bridge which once carried the Wall across the Eden from Stanwix to Carlisle, were dredged out of the river by a mechanical excavator, and one of the blocks proved to have a centurial inscription on it. An account of the structure of the bridge must await further investigations, for which provision has already been made; but it seems best that the inscription should be published without delay. It is a rather slipshod piece of cutting, by a man who was obviously not a skilled worker; the letters vary in size between rather over 2 in. high in the first line to under $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in the second, and those in the first line, in particular, have not been incised at all deeply. The reading is plain: 7 *Vesn(i)* / *Viator(is)* — "Century of Vesnius Viator". The inscription is one of those cut in order to enable an inspecting officer to check the quality of work done, either on a building (such as the legionary amphitheatre at Caerleon, or the Wall itself — cf. AA4 XVI, 1939, 225), or at the builders' yard where large blocks were dressed: in the present instance, the latter appears to have been the case — there was obviously no need to put a specialist in lettering to cut a text the purpose of which was so transient: once the block had been approved for use in the structure of the bridge, the inscription had served its purpose, and it seems probable that this one was not in fact visible when the block was in position.

The main interest of the new discovery lies in the *nomen* of the centurion, *Vesnius*. Wilhelm Schulze, in his study of Roman personal names, only cites three examples of it (LE 255), and as far as I can trace no others have been recorded elsewhere; the three are C. Vesnius Heuretus (by his *cognomen*, pretty certainly of freedman stock) at Rome, VI 28620;

C. Vesnius Vindex, a senator in the time of Commodus, attested by an inscription from Urvinum Mataurense in Umbria (XI 6053); and an *eques Romanus* from the same place, C. Clodienus Serenus Vesnius Dexter (XI 6060 and 6061 = ILS 6648). These last two men belonged to the tribe Stellatina, in which that town was enrolled, and held local offices as well as being patrons of Urvinum; there can be no doubt, therefore, that it was their native place: and in view of the extreme rarity of the name, we shall be justified in inferring that our centurion belonged to the same family — he may, in all probability, have been the father of the Roman knight and the grandfather of the senator. The freedman in Rome was no doubt a retainer of the family.¹

¹ It has seemed worth while to reprint this brief note, as an illustration of the practical application of some of the methods discussed in an earlier paper, p. 154 f. above.

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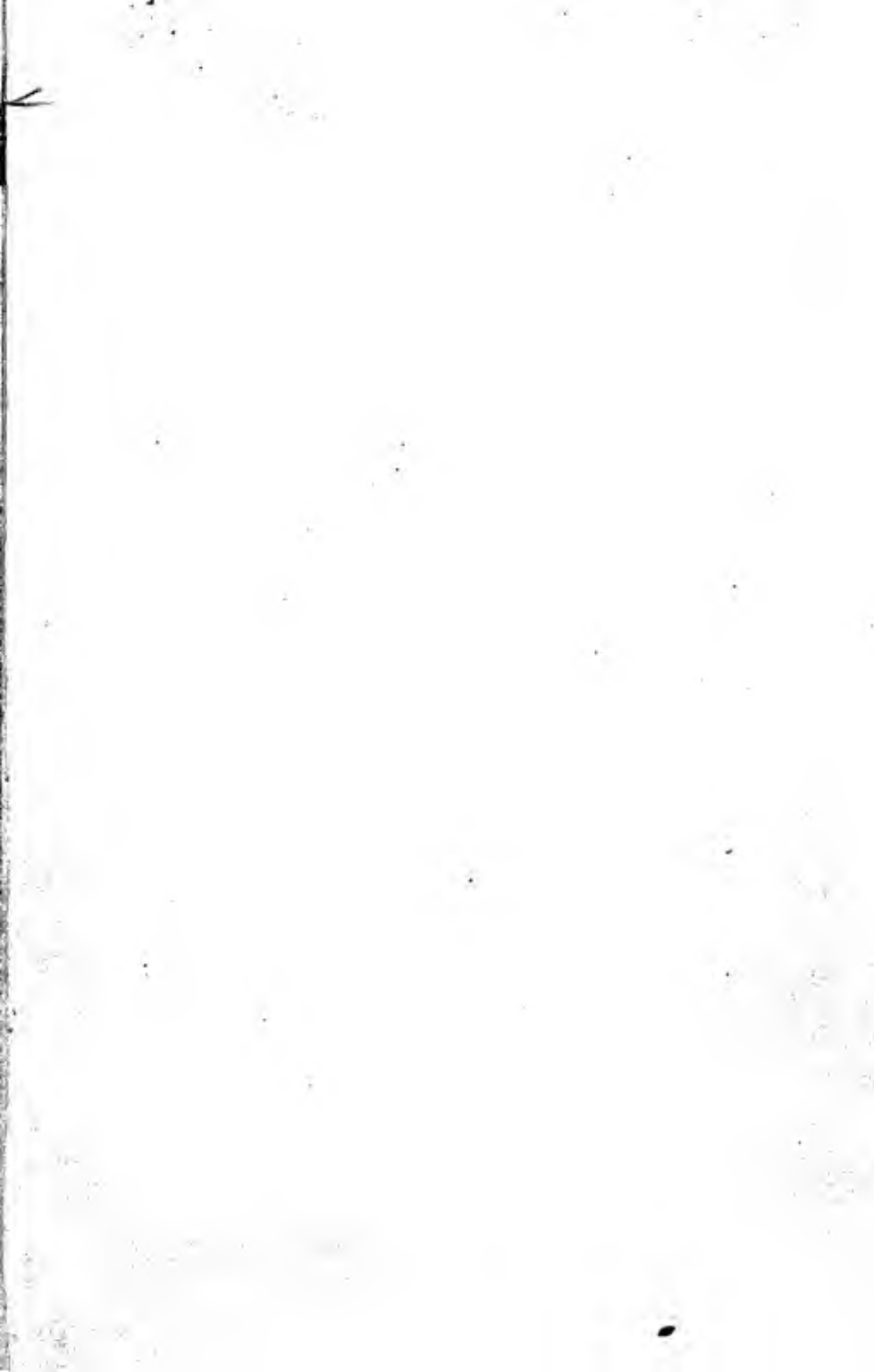
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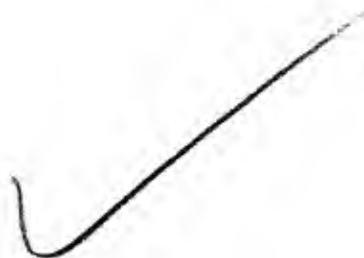
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